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*CHAUCER'S POETIC IDEAL AND THE CONTEXTS OF "CUPIDITY" AND "MARRIAGE" IN "THE PARDONER'S TALE" AND IN "THE MERCHANT'S TALE"

Devinder Mohan

"When men of the fourteenth or fifteenth century thought of Chaucer, they did not think first of *Canterbury Tales*", says C. S. Lewis. "Their Chaucer was the chaucer of dream and allegory of love—Romance and erotic debate, of high style and profitable doctrine".[1] C. S. Lewis is right in his remark since the essential Chaucer emerges out of the intertextuality of Lucan, Cicero, Dante, Boccaccio and Boethius. By the time, he begings to write *Canterbury Tales* he is already delivered of by what John Steadman states :

> The flight scens of Lucan, Dante and Baccaccio not only center on similar clusters of common/places ascent to heavens, contemplation of the planets, a turning Backward to regard the earth, and a comparison between terrene and celestial values, culminating in an outburst of laughter—but also contain minor verbal parallels . . . Taken as a whole, however, . . . we are dealing with a continuous and closely linked tradition—a pattern of influences from the *Pharsalia* through the *Paradiso* to the *Teseida*, and thence to *Troilus* .[2]

He breaks loose of the medieval tradition in order to sustain the modernistic impulse for man's physical reality, however deviated from the mimetic ideals of the dream and allegory tradition. Experiencing man's social and cultural reality in late fourteenth century, when men and women surrounding him, muted his mind of heavenly felicity, with the humanity of the road—open, natural, physical, and worldly—which is apt to be subjected to all the seven deadly sins condemned by medieval ideals. However, he could not completely deliver himself of the mute

*Note : The text of Chaucer's *Tales* and *The Prologue* appears from *Selections from The Tales of Canterbury and Short Poems* Edited by Robert A. Pratt (New York : Houghton Miffin Company, Boston, 1966)

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heavenly felicity which was just fresh in his mind from working out Dante's *The Devine Comedia* in his *Troilus* while he had already translated Boethius' *The Consolations of Philosophy*. In creating a design for *The Canterbury Tales*, he got a chance to illustrate Dante's *Inferno* and *Purgatario* in the unique religio-cultural types of characters who represented fourteenth century realism, taking shape out of the corruption at the seat of church.

In order to maintain what T. S. Eliot calls "the historic sense", the sense, indeed of dream and allegory tradition, he chose the idea of "pilgrimage" to combine meta-physical reality of nature and of time (spring season, the month of April and the human urge to set out in a religious journey) and the physical needs, deviated from the ethical ideals according to medieval standards, the standards which D. W. Robertson quotes from St. Agustine's words :

> "Thus in moral life, wandering from God, if we wish to return to our native country where can be blessed we should use this world and not enjoy it, so that 'inevitable things' of God 'being understood by the thinks that are made' may be seen, that is, so that by means of corporeal and temporal things, we may comprehend the eternal and spiritual."[3]

D. W. Robertson adds by saying :

> The solution to the problem of love, the force which directs the will, which in turn the source of moral action is, figuratively, marriage ... the "marriage" between the spirit and flesh, or the reason and the sensuality within him, is preserved in tact, and he is also part of the "marriage" between Christ and the Church (374) . . . Marriage thus is a principle of order in lay society; in medieval terms, a well ordered hierarchy of almost any kind may be thought of as a "marriage".[4]

Since the ideals of these standards were lost, the priest-craft practice had degenerated from the medieval idea of marriage to the actual practice of cupidity, the pre-dominating sin in terms of medieval values. Chaucer's Purgatorial eye needed to expose the sins which were being committed through the idea of pilgrimage. The poetic distance, then, mediates the mockery of the common man's life style through dominating individuals of religiocultural types situated for setting out on a religious pilgrimage.

The purgatorial act of the poet is also reflected in restoring a unity

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and dignity to English language : Chaucer's mind undergoes a metamorphoses in converting the semiotic relationships of European languages to the verbalization of English speech, a speech which regulated its own poise and momentum in chiseling the features of the characters in correspondence with their sinful practices. With Chaucer's knowledge of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, himself having attained Triolus' status of a poetic hero, his mind was fertile enough to expose the possibilities of encounter between mortal vanity of the fortune's gifts and the heavenly felicity of God's gifts. In many ways, Chaucer's intellectual input from the *Consolations of Philosophy* made a literary descent to absorb the ironical stress of the characters he portrayed from real historical mirror of society. The nature of stories told, their themes, and proverbial morals would further reflect the dualities between the espousing a godly cause in public and that of asking for the gifts of fortunes through the under-the-table kind of practice. Divine grace and mockery of its image, distinguished each character's apparel, past life style and the present act of telling the story, justifying himself as a pilgrim. The poet, the design of the *Tales* and the English speech, all seemed inventive components of a Dante's Purgatorial form.

The implication of this idea is seen in H. S. Bennet's observation of characters of *Tales* and the tellers :

> His poetic sensibility combined with an immense understanding of men and women, enable him to survey the life about him with such imaginative insight and power that no detail was too small for him to observe, and from it he would frequently draw, or suggest conclusions which would have escaped many.[5]

The seeing eye of the poet, then, was like an earthly pilgrimage of the sun, burning what is impure, sprouting what is pure, to be transferred to humanity (and to the posterity) from the real "cultural sensorium"[6] to the mental construct of the objects around it. In this context, Chaucer was probably confronted with three inter-linking questions for his poetic vision and for the cultural "sensorium" of England he actually experienced.

1. What is the nature of ideal chain of being of medieval England, given the social types and the ideal unity achievable in God's grace ?
2. To what extent were men and women transmitting their respective ideals as persons in the society of Chaucer's England ?

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3. How did Chaucer achieve a reconcilliation between and through them in an artistic whole ?

Referring to the first question, C. S. Lewis studies the astronomical system known to medieval Europe based on Aristotle's metaphysics as also revealed in Dante's *Divine Comedy*. According to him :

> Characteristically, medieval man was not a dreamer nor a spiritual adventurer; he was an organizer, a codifier, a man of system. His ideal could be not unfairly summed up in the old housewifely maxim "A place for everything, and everything in its (right) place." Three things are typical of him. First, that small minority of his cathedrals in which the design of the architect was actually achieved (usually, of course, it was overtaken by the next wave of architectural fashion long before it was finished). I am thinking of a thing like Salisbury, Second, the Summa of Thomas Aquinas. And thirdly, the Divine Comedy of Dante. In all these alike we see the tranquil, indefatigable, exultant energy of a passionately logical mind ordering a huge mass of heterogeneous details into unity.[7]

This logic is bound up with the chain of God, Angel and Man which comprises up of six links. "For, God", C. S. Lewis points out :

> governs the world through the angels; the whole angelic population, without prejudice to its complex internal triads, is the medium between God as agent and nature (or man) as patient. Just so on Earth a king governs the cosmos through the barons. But this of course was not, for the medieval mind, a mere analogy. It was the real earthly and social reproduction of the triad. I say "social" to distinguish it from "individual"; for within the individual man, as within the individual angel, the triad is repeated.
>
> It is indeed repeated twice, once on the ethical and once on the psychological level, Ethically (and here, at many removes, they were following Plato) the triad is *Reason, Emotion and Appetite*. Reason, also will seated in the head, governs the Appetites, seated in the abdomen or beneath it, by the aid of the more fully human and civilized emotions which were located in the thorax; such things as shame, honor, pity,self-respect, affection.[8]

On the psychological level, the triad depends on the doctrine of triple soul. There is a vegetable soul common to all plants which gives only life, sensitive soul which gives life and sensation, and the rational soul

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by which we think. Man needs the interlinking stress of each level illuminating the mind by the perception of each action.

This logical triad from God to man and the same intended in him in his relationship with society, in order that he may achieve redemption and personal salvation to reach God's grace was bound up with an answer to the question, "How to live". Religion and life were dialectic forces. "How to live" was a question posed to hierarchy of state, for its imaginative possibilities which Aristotle, Saint Acquinas and Dante had already indicated.

This brings us to the second question : Man was essentially regarded as a pilgrim in the phenomenal world of earth. He was supposed to liberate himself from the sensory illusions of this earthly phenomenon—seasons, growth and material forms. The only hostility was that Man should move through them by receiving his love for God. The movement, then, has its source outside the visible world, not in his heart, as a romantic poet would see. C. S. Lewis further points out :

> In our visible world the circumstances, the Primum Mobile, moves quickest and is nearest to God; the Moon moves slowest and is nearest what we call the Center—i.e. the Earth. But the true nature of the universe is exactly the opposite. In the visible and spatial order Earth is center; in the dynamic, invisible order the Empyrean is center, and we are indeed "outside the city wall" at the end of all things. And the center of that Center, the center of Earth, is the edge, the very point at which all being and reality finally peter out.[9]

Earth being the last spot where light can reach, man has a chance for redemption while guided by "the lead kindly light" of the divine love. Since individual man works his way up for the spiritual ascent while in bondage of the spatial world of Earth, the very cause of living becomes holy. Accordingly, then, his mortal voyage is essentially a pilgrimage. Chaucer depicts this idea of pilgrimage through the formal pilgrims pilgrimaging towards formal celestial place called Jerusalem (its parallel in the planetary context is Empyrean center), while depicting it also as the actual social tradition of medieval England. In this context D. W. Robertson makes a crucial point :

> Among scriptural concepts which appear in *The Canterbury Tales*, the most important is the idea of pilgrimage. Any pilgrimage during

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> the Middle Ages, whether it was made on the knees in a labyrinth set in a cathedral floor, or, more strenuously, to the Holy Land, was ideally a figure for the pilgrimage of the Christian soul through the world's wilderness toward the celestial Jerusalem. The pilgrimage of the soul was not in itself a journey from place to place, but an inner movement between the two cities so vividly described by St. Augustine, one founded on charity, and the other on cupidity. Love moved the pilgrim's feet and determined the direction of his journey.[10]

"Cupidity" refers to carnal love in which the lover is imprisoned in fleshly illusion whereas charity refers to contemplative love of heavenly felicity, through which he is led on to God's grace. Both have their counterparts in the social ritual of marriage in medieval England.

Marriage offers a scientific love with which the aspirant moves through the mutable forms of the earthly world. This ritual is consecrated through the exercise of free will on the basis of divine reason. On the social convas as W. Robertson has implied in the medieval idea of marriage already quoted earlier.

In this context Chaucer offers an aesthetic vision of the *Canterbury Tales* through a social criticism of medieval life. Further, the order of marriage aesthetically adapted, manifests in the social universe reflected in the Tale, the polarities of heavenly felicity and earthly pleasure. The aesthetic ideal which sustains the polarities serves a standard for Chaucer to depict his men and women while engaged with earthly pilgrimage.

The third part is the artistic design which incorporates the picture of social realism of medieval England through the ideal concept of "Marriage". This design depicts a process elaborated through a method of allegory in telling the Tales. Sometimes allegory and symbol are combined together for an aesthetic device, as we shall see in "The Merchant's Tale". This combination however, is evident in the opening lines of *Prologue*.

The fecundity of nature during the spring season puts in perspective the spiritual quest in man, and his urge for the pilgrim in him. The forms of nature which depict God's creation cause the movement of divine love in man. In Wordsworth's poetry, too, this order of love maintains man's movement to the forms of nature : in Geoffery Hartman context of "Tintern Abbey"[11] 'generosity' in nature effects its process

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in Wordsworth's mind and in turn enables him to experience the "generosity" potential in human emotions. But unlike Wordsworth, Chaucer shows the spiritual impulse out of social naturality of the middle ages which acts as a contingency on the pilgrims according to the degree of fallen humanity. Chaucer thus participates in the realism of the pilgrims, with a poetic scale of justice in terms of the use of God's gift of free will. The characters of the pilgrims are depicted in the descending order of medieval ethos within its secular structure in terms of the ranks of society. Nevill Goghill has worked out the connecting links :

> A high kind of gentle blood is seen in the Knight and his son, a lesser somewhat emulous gentry in the landowning Franklin. The learned professions appear in the Serjeant-at-Law and the Doctor. The Merchant stands for the upper reaches of commerce, for the new class of wool exporters and exchange manipulators, beginners in capitalism, while the Haberdasher and his associates represent the slightly smaller fry of London traders, though each.
>
> Was shaply for to been an alderman.
>
> The Wife of Bath, a provincial and a woman, was a cloth-maker, an expert in the newest and most important of England's industries at the time. Another provincial, this time a sea-dog, was the Shipman, owner and master mariner. All these were of some rank. They would have servants at home, they would exact and enjoy a high local prestige. Next below them were the churl-fold, of whom the Miller was the grandest, his own master with the coveted right to work a mill, a man to give himself airs. The swaggering Simkin of *The Rave's Tale* was such another, with a wife
>
> As digne as water in a dich.
>
> Then came the servant class : upper servants like the Manciple and the Revem lower servants like the Yeoman and the Cook, each pair representing Town and Country between them. At the absolute bottom of the social scale came the country Ploughman, and bottom though he was, nearest among these lay-fold to the Knight in generous Christianity. They were both animae naturaliter christianae.[12]

Chaucer embraces the ethical tradition of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, the metaphysical tradition of Aristotle and the poetic tradition of Dante. Through the structural combination of Religio-cultural

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individualities, the ethical ideals, the metaphysical vision of love and marriage, Chaucer reveals the corruption of the Church hierarchy in the degenerating use of free will.

"Pardoner's Tale" and his character offer counterparts of modern ironical temper : Pardoner suggests a surviver of the modern materialistic society while his tale, priest-craft sermon, to keep the cultural reality, for the growing mobility of imagination for self control against modern context of cupidity. "Chaucer's eye at the moment was fixed on the Pardoner . . . all he wanted to do was to make money."[13] Critics have gone to all kinds of source hunting material to place the Pardoner and the relevance of his tale for his kind of character. In the context of the poetic narrative, however, and the overall design of *Canterbury Tales*, we cannot look at the antiquity but what Chaucer makes us see in his dream and allegory tradition with his individual talent. One cannot ignore Pardoner's obvious hypocracy : his "charlatanism incarnate".

> Flaunting his relics and no doubt his gaudy cross, he practically black mails every man and woman (especially woman) of his humble congregation. His text, *Radix Malorum est cupidities* gives even a pretext for dibating on all *mala* relevant to his hearers. For the so called 'Tavern vices' gluttony, drunkenness, swearing, gambling—are regrettably the vices to which all flesh alike is heir.[14]

His incarnal passion and appetite in talking about tavern roiters while he himself is in tavern addressing the host and other pilgrims on the verge of setting out on the pilgrimage, all this refers to cupidity. Chaucer was concerned with the vivid detail of actual historical happening and Pardoner seems the most illustrative of corruption streaming out of church in the cultural life-style. This corruption is cast in the allegorical mirror of the story which Chaucer makes him tell to eccentuate the elements of cupidity in his character in terms of medieval setting. Nevill Coghill is very right in pointing out :

> But the bsilisk Pardoner was more to be feared and therefore more hated. A monster of vanity and hypocrisy, he had wider field of operation within the Church moved beyond simple satire into irony, the most baleful form of militant poetry. In all that he says of the pardoner he shows himself the first and subtlest ironist in English, for there are ironies within irony . . . By an extension this principle also be applied to situation, and this Chaucer does in Pardoner's sermon. Three rioters, seeking death in order to slay him, find him

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> without knowing that it is he, and are themselves slain by their own motive principle, cupidity. The personal situation of the Pardoner himself is equally ironical. It has been said he is lost soul, but he is more, he is lost soul paddling a fake salvation for other as if all salvation were a fake. Like Iago he knows all the right things to say, and says from private ends. The irony is that they are true while he supposes them a mockery.[15]

The oldman of the sermon is very much in the purgatorial dream tradition, since, being a kind oldman, he joins Chaucer's Elysium of heroes for their "disembodied laughter" at the mockery of human vanity, its worst degree in hypocracy in guiding the three roiters to treasure, to have them become victims of Cupidity. In this context the oldman, signifies old-age-getting-to-wisdom through self-purgation. The oldman is not just the oldman as W. J. B. Owan[16] supposes, nor is he without allegorical significance. His presence is articulated in a purgatorial context in terms of over all design of the *Tales* as I have been trying to show. This theme of cupidity in its semiotic context, with medieval idea of "marriage" cast in the continued motif of pilgrimage, is illustrated more vividly and in greater detail in "*The Merchant's Tale*".

The Merchant's Tale ironically exposes Fortune's gifts in medieval society. It depicts perversity of human life as a universal human construct as Johnson makes it explicit in his play *Volpone*. In the prologue to "The Merchant's Tale" not very much is indicated about the merchant except that he is suffering from the sorrows of marriage. In medieval terminology, sorrow can result from the incomplete spiritual attainments towards God's grace or from the total commitment to Fortune's gifts on the part of husband and wife. What is revealed in the tale, is, that the merchant has been married for only two months and he is already in a quagmire of difficulties owing to his wife's cussedness. Without historical references, when seen in terms of his preceding work, *Troilus and Cresida* which depicts the struggle between fortune's gifts and God's gift, the tale makes sense in terms of Chaucer's poetic ideal out of the European medieval tradition as a whole.

That the merchant is burdened with sorrow, indicates that he understands the moral thread of the tale he is going to weave which the protagonist in the story would not follow.

In telling the tale the merchant unloads his guilt of sin to undergo Catharsis in the act of being a pilgrim. We know that the wife of Bath

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has already realized her sin while living with her fifth husband, and with the realization that she too is a pilgrim. Thus there is an element of confession among the pilgrims in the very act of telling the tales, while the tales also exhalt their confessions to enable them to feel peaceful, ligher, and illuminated at God's altar in Jerusalem. Among the pilgrims and in the *Canterbury Tales* as already indicated, Chaucer enacts a form of ritual of Dante's Purgatory. All of them are made to set out on pilgrimage owning to the movement of God's love incarnated in His gift of free will. Its right use is depicted in each pilgrim's degree of realization of sins as sins, together with the hope of personal salvation. The merchant reaches a special point of expectation from God to help him see what man sees not when free will is not rightly used.

The tale is told with the center of focus on January who has passed sixty years, enjoying "flesh, fish, and fowl" with a fleshly gifts of fortune. All the other characters, including his young wife, May, project rather dramatically, the very states of his mind, interacting towards degeneration of his soul. Since he is so captivated by the mistress of desire, God's gifts are ironically suggested to belong to her dominion only. In the first part of the story, the idea of marriage is dramatized within the medieval values of social life. The reader is made to identify with the merchant, so that January's mind is recognized as psychological drama of discription of mind in old age. This dramatic illusion is created with a supreme artistic sense. January is shown regreting his leading a victorious life of virtue for sixty years of his life. The merchant refers to this virtue, earlier,

> To take a wyf it is a glorious thyng,
> And namely whan a man is old and hoor;
> Thanne is a wyf the fruyt of his tresor.

The virtue is fortified with allusions from both classical and Biblical mythology. (Theophrastus, Cato, Esther, Mary etc.) January refers to it when he says :

> Blessed be God that it shal been amended!
> For I wol be, certeyn, a wedded man,
> A nd that anon in al the haste I kan.

He cannot see through himself, since he is captivated by the phenomenal world of fortune, both inside him as degenerating nature and outside him, as its reflection in the form of worldly possessions. A wife to

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him is man's unavoidable helpmate as reflected in the narcisstic mirror of selfhood :

> By cause of leveful procreaciona
> Of Children, to the' onour of God above
> And natoonly for paramour of leve
> But, sires by your leve that am not I
> For God be thanked, i dere make avaunt,
> stark and suffisaunt.

Evidently, January loves himself rather than God, and the image of his wife suggests the image of self-love rather than of God. January thus subjects himself to the annihilation of God's triad. D. W. Robertson is right in saying :

> Here the mirror visible in representations in Luxuria and described symbolically as the "Well of Narcissus" is pictured in a more literal fasion and the garden of Deduit becomes an actual garden which shadows forth the ornaments and safeguards which Januarie's imagination conjures up around the phantasm of his little "paradis" . . . he is actually interested in the "esy and clene" physical delights of marriage, so that like January in Kalender he looks both ways, and having disregarded the voice of reason in the person of Justinus and heeded instead a placebo who wil please the world in the land of the dead rather than "the Lord in the land of the living" . . .[17]

The gift of free will blocks out God's grace and consequently the dynamic motion of divine love. In Blake's concept, he ceases to be even a Man since he is unable to improve his vision of love beyond physical enjoyment. In the absence of divine love's motion he stagnates, almost stinks, since he lets himself subjected to carnal desire towards the end of the story. Chaucer grounds this theme of love's degeneration by using symbolic names. January is the month of winter which is bound to be succeeded by the month of May. January, in marrying May, subjects himself to the time bound (seasonal) world, time between these two months being the fallen time of the earthly world. Since there is no true love in January, he cannot transform his fallen humanity by transcending the limits of temporal world which is destined to perish. May, being the month of spring, seeks fertilization, growth and flowering. It is also God's gift of creativity in which man may recognize Him in the growth of His spirit of love. In this context R. W. Robertson

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makes a revealing insight :

> The idea of strange union between old January and some fresh spring month as a commentary on marriages between old men and young girls was thus natural. Deschan gives us a picture of a union between old January and young April in his balade "Contre le marriages disproportiones" . . . . Gemini, the sign under which Januarie is deceived in this Merchant's Tale . . . is the house of Mercury, Lord of eloquence as well as of merchants, and it is May's eloquence which triumphs in the end.[18]

January mistakes growth for the bodily desire only; consequently he loses May's gift through God's creation.

Like T. S. Eliot's Pruferock, January is already "etherised". His dialogue with his friends, Justinus and Placebo is a dialogue between two aspects of his mind. Placebo, places January to show of the latter's mind :

> And trewely, it is an heigh corage
> Of any man that stapen is in age
> To take the young wyf; by my fader kyn, (1513-1515)

Justinus, as the name suggests, symbolises justice of free will, drawing strength from the historical sense of God's man under apotheosis tradition of *Triolus*

> Te mowe, for me, right as yow liketh do;
> Avyseth yow-ye been a man of age——
> How that ye entren into a mariage,
> And namely with a yong wyf and a fair.
> By hum that made water, erthe, and air,
> The yongeste man that is in al this route
> Is bisy ynough to brvngen it absolute
> To han his wyf allonw. Trusteth me,
> Ye shul nat plasen hire fully yeres thre,.. (1554-1562).

January's selfhood is ignored with earthly venom that stings in vain anything outside his domane, even disregarding Justinus' suggestions as representative stuff. (I counte nat a prayer full of hirbes of scole-terms). January looks at the narcistic mirror and confronts himself. The mirror although darks, is yet, like the "darkness visible" of Milton's hell, in which he can see all the maids of his neighbourhood glowing in the light of his burning desire. The fuel to this fire is added by fortune's gifts of

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material riches :

Many fair shap and many a fair visage
Ther passeth thurgh his herte nyght by nyght,
As whoso tooke a mirour, polisshed bright,
And settle it in a commune market place,

January finds heavenly felicity by making his paradise on earth. The felicity which man finds in charitable marriage, God's means of granting grace, is perverted into fleshy love—one of Fortune's gifts. Justinus tries to reveal to January, how he makes his marriage a sanctuary in the service of God by employing it as a means to grace. January's insistence on marrying May, demonstrates the misuse of free will. That he succumbs to the temptations of earthly pleasure and cannot improve on it, is further accentuated by his voluptuous celebration of his marriage :

Al ful of joye and blisse is the paleys,
And ful of instrumentz and of vitaille,
The mooste deyntevous of all Ytaille.
Biforn hem stoode instrumentz of swich soun
That Orpheus, ne of Thebes Amphioun,
Ne maden nevere swich a melodye (1712-1717)

The illusions of Bachus and his followers of Venus, Martianus's celebration of nuptials during the mating of Mercury and Philogy in the process of January's knighthood ceremony before his bride, displays the paradox of Boethius concept of divine reason. In a way, Milton's poem, Camus, becomes the counterparts to this part of January's ceremony of marriage. Bachus' insolence of wine and pleasure becomes symbolic motif of capidity in January's life. Again the illusions of Ahasuerus and Halen in describing May's beauty pertain to January's sensual vision of earthly beauty. As Eve succumbs to temptation offered by Satan in the form of physical beauty of the snake and his charm of human tongue. May surrenders herself to Damian's youthful looks and desire. Damian's character is suggested allegorically since January dissipates his strength and youth in the activities of lust and debauchery, losing the spiritual strength. His past activity of lust is shown in continuation when he fondles May and kisses her often after the company takes leave. This dark narcisstic activity, as January would have it,

Night with his mantel, that is derke and rude,
Can oversprede the hemysperie aboute;

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culminates when he builds a garden for his sensory feast from the bare enjoyment of senses to his spiritual blindness. With his physical blindness, this time by a rude stroke of fortune, he is actually becomes entirely blind to God's reason. With the deprivation of sensual enjoyment of the garden, he is also deprived of the sexual enjoyment of May. With the loss of reason comes the loss of light. With the loss of will, comes the loss of self in the mutable world. The performance of sex act on the tree by Damian and May suggests the mutability of forture.

In Milton's *Paradie Lost,* Satan organises a democratic council with fallen angels to tempt humanity to his side. January, like Satan, is too fallen having lived sixty years of lechery and lust. Like Satan, he too has conference with his friends for the possibility of a young wife. Satan's temptation of Eve and consequent fall of Adam is reflected, in May's disobedience of breaking the marriage bond with January. The allegory of Satan's hell is also reflected in January's Garden. As Satan carries hell in his mind, so January carries it in terms of what happened in the garden. May and Domian, in many ways, demonstrate the allegory of sin and death. Chaucer depiction of man's loss of free will in this story suggests violation of the idea of medieval "Marriage". Indeed it illustrates the condemned sin of Cupidity, implying all the time, the possibilities of God's granting his grace, keeping the free will open to reason and passion both. With the loss of grace, Merchant needs to be a pilgrim through what he suggests in the protagonist of story. Each one's telling of tale (self-confessionally) becomes a pilgrim for Chaucer *Purgatory* version of the *Canterbury Tales.*

The language of tellers,in the context, too goes through the corrosive hearth of hell, to be purgated clean, for the emergence of poetic speech. The European contexts are transformed for cultural refinement of England and his personal fame as father of English Poetry. It is for this final achievement of language that John Steadman maintains,

> "The Sound of words, Chaucer informs us is "nogt but eyrybroken", and Fame herself has piched her mansion in the upper atmosphere.[19]

The upper atmosphere is in the city of Art which, Lucan, Ceciro, Dante, Baccaccio, (Poetic heroes like Troilus) and now Chaucer, inhabit, to breath immortality freely.

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FOOT NOTES

1. C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, (New York : Oxford University Press, 1971) p. 162.
2. John Steadman, *Disembodied Laughter : Troilus and Apotheosis Tradition* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1972) pp. 8-9.
3. quoted by D. W. Robertson in *A Preface to Chaucer : Studies in Medieval Perspectives* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970) p. 374.
4. D. W. Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer*, pp. 374, 375.
5. H. S. Bennet : *Chaucer and Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1947) pp. 73-74.
6. Walter Ong, S. J., *The Presence of the Word* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1967) p. 6. In this context Father Ong says :" it is useful to think of cultures in terms of organization of Sensorium. By sensorium we mean here the entire sensory apparatus as an operational complex."
7. C. S. Lewis, "Imagination and Thought in Middle Ages" in *Chaucer and His Cotemporaries* ed. Helaine Newstead, (Connecticut : Faucet Publications, 1968) p. 49.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 62,
9. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
10. D. W. Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer*, p. 373,
11. The reference is made from Goeffrey Hartman's discussion of "Tintern Abbey" in his book *The Unmediated Vision* (New York : Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966) see his eassay on Wordsworth, pp. 1-46.
12. Nevill Coghill, "The Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*" *in Chaucer and his Contemporaries* ed. Halaine Newstead, p. 166.
13. C. G. Sedgewick, "The Progress of Chaucer's Pardoner, 1880-1940" *In Chaucer : Modern Essays in Criticism* ed. Edward Wagenknecht Glaxy Books (New York : Oxford University Press, 1959) p. 133.
14. *Ibid.* pp. 153, 135.
15. Nevill Coghill, "from *The Poet Chaucer*" *in Geoffrey Chaucer* ed. J. A. Burrow, (Baltimore : Penguin Books, 1969) p. 157.
16. W. J. B. Owen, "The Old Man in *the Pardoner's Tale*" in *Chaucer : Modern Essays in Criticism* see pp. 127-159.
17. D. W. Robertson, *Preface To Chaucer*, pp. 110-111.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 110-111.
19. John Steadman, *Disembodied Laughter*, p. VII.

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THE POLITICS OF MADNESS IN KURT VONNEGUT'S *GOD BLESS YOU, MR. ROSEWATER*

Sukhbir Singh

"That's just what I mean", Dr. Stubbs answered. "That crazy bastard may be the only sane one left."

Joseph Heller—*Catch-22*

Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. shows in his fiction an abiding concern for man's survival with freedom and dignity against the dehumanising regimentation of the human psyche by various social, political, scientific and technological institutions in postwar America. Attempts made to categorise his work have invariably led to an over-simplification of the issues posed by it while denying him the centrality that is undoubtedly his in the present situation of the novel. For instance, to describe him as a black humorist, as has been done by critics like Max F. Schulz[1] and Robert Scholes[2], because of the comic light in which he represents the absurdities of life is to generalise on the basis of the traces of black humor found in his projection of human experience. In fact, Vonnegut himself has scoffed at this description of himself while distinguishing his own fiction from that of the black humorists whose heroes appear to him as "holy wanderers" finding "nothing but junk and lies and idiocy wherever they go. A chewing gum wrapper or a used condom is often they can do for a holy grail."[3]

Vonnegut never presents men as "ignoble wretches" with "Little psychological depth"[4] as a black humorist does. On the contrary, he presents his fictional characters as living men who are well acquainted with the politics of survival without getting affected by the corrupt influences of modern technological society. In his early novels like *Player Piano, The Sirens of Titan* and *Mother Night* the protagonists never cease to be conscious of their human status and continuously try to wriggle out of their dehumanising predicaments. At times they, like Paul Proteus in *Player Piano*, exhibit enough courage to explode the

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whole technological network that has been subversive to human life and dignity, in a manner which provokes sympathy rather than laughter. Thus seen Vonnegut, while focussing on the absurdities of life as J. P. Donleavy and Philip Roth have done, does not belittle man's stature as a human being. Nor does he allow him to extinguish himself in a dying world as Thomas Pynchon and John Barth have done. In order to achieve this, Vonnegut endows his protagonists with a creative imagination and a humorous temperament which enable them to reconstruct themselves in such ways as to remain unaffected by the ramifications of their untoward circumstances. With the help of these attributes Vonnegut's protagonists adopt new attitudes or assume new postures towards life in order to protect their sanity, morality, freedom and dignity from the oppressive conditions of the postwar American society which have reduced man merely to an object.

Their fertile imagination helps them to adopt suitable postures to meet their circumstances squarely. Vonnegut's space fantasies in *The Sirens of Titan* and *Slaughterhouse-Five* are imaginative rather than scientific. His characters are found fantasising in their attempts to cope with the seemingly irrational realities of life. They seek imaginary props to their lives which have otherwise become intolerable. For example, Joseph Campbell in *Mother Night* becomes a schizophrenic to survive the horror of the Second World War. Jonah in *Cat's Cradle* adopts a new religion—"Bokononism"[5]—to come to terms with the reality of nuclear destruction. Billy Pilgrim in *Slaughterhouse-Five* reconciles with the irrational actualities of life by reviewing them through a "cosmic consciousness."[6] Their taking recourse to fantasy helps them in distancing what would otherwise prove destructive to the autonomy of their selves. Their lightheartedness helps them to keep themselves above the nerve shattering anxieties of contemporary life. But, despite his humanistic inclinations, Vonnegut does not allow his sympathies to influence his rendering of human experience since his purpose is not to humanise or naturalise man but to perspectivise the dance of life as it has come to be conditioned by the interplay of the needs and interests of contemporary man. Indeed, Vonnegut's use of humour is intended to bring out the sheer absurdity of human existence as exemplified by his characters—an absurdity of human existence as exemplified by man's situation amidst spiritual and cultural ruins. This affirmation of human life and the possibilities of human survival distinguish Vonnegut's vision from "the subversive, enraged, even apocalyptic"[7] vision of the black humorist.

In *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* (1965), Vonnegut treats the

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problem of human survival in the present day materialistic world where a man's worth as a human being is measured in terms of his money. As the novel opens, Vonnegut announces, "A sum of money is a leading character in this tale about people, just as a sum of honey might properly be a leading character in a tale about bees",[8] which aptly sums up the values of modern American society. Money rules over the destiny of people; money places the honest, industrious, peaceful citizens in the category of bloodsuckers, and the rapacious citizens who control money in the category of the honest; money decides "what you think of yourself and of what others think of you" (140); and money "represents property, privileges, and pleasures" (21) that have been denied to those who don't have it. Hence, Vonnegut believes that the modern generation is suffering from the sickness of "'*Samaritrophia*'"—"'*hysterical indifference to the troubles of those less fortunate than oneself*'"(54), which has made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for an ordinary man to live a dignified and meaningful life. Arts and Science fail to help man in Vonnegut's previous novels like *Player Piano*, *The Sirens of Titan*, *Mother Night* and *Cat's Cradle*. Science has created a materialistic world which has entrapped man and the arts cannot help him break out of that goal. In *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* Vonnegut tries another alternative—the alternative of mutual love and cooperation—to cure the malady of "uselessness" and "poverty" prevalent in postwar America. Here the author says, "You can safely ignore the arts and sciences. They never helped anybody. Be a sincere, attentive friend of the poor"(23).

Eliot Rosewater, the protagonist, is a failed poet and novelist. He inherits from his ancestors a large fortune which has been "stashed into a foundation in order that tax-collectors and other predators not named Rosewater might be prevented from getting their hands on it"(15). As a legal right, Eliot becomes the president of the Rosewater Foundation after he returns from the Second World War. During the war he has killed three volunteer fire scouts, one of them a fourteen year old boy, mistaking them for German soldiers. The trauma of the war fills Eliot with a feeling of meaninglessness, and he undergoes a nervous breakdown subsequently. His experiences in the postwar American society prove no less frustrating. But, Eliot outgrows his predicament like Jonah in *Cat's Cradle* and Billy Pilgrim in *Slaughterhouse-Five* with the help of his creative imagination and humorous temperament. From Kilgore Trout's science fiction Eliot learns that he can make life meaningful by helping his discarded fellow beings. As a result, Eliot volunteers to serve the men who have been rendered redundant by the machines in postwar America. Eliot

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takes a different way of life to get over his feeling of meaninglessness; he converts his love and sympathy for the poor into an art of survival. Talking to his wife, Eliot says, " 'I' am going to love these discarded Americans, even though they're useless and unattractive. *That* is going to be my work of art' "(47).

Eliot always lives on his ambition to turn his society into an ideal place where people love each other irrespective of their colour, social status, and money After he becomes the president, Rosewater dollars fight "cancer and mental illness and race prejudice and police brutality and countless other miseries", and encourage college professors "to look for truth", and to buy "beauty at any price" (26). Eliot himself runs a Fire Brigade Department and a free service station in the Rosewater City. This is his therapy to overcome the traumatic killing of the fire scouts during the war. Eliot dedicates himself to the service of his fellow men. He helps them to endure their state of uselessness, and successfully fulfills the task which Paul Proteus failed to do in *Player Piano* on account of his immature approach to the problem.

However, Eliot has to pass through a critical situation as he practises and propagates his ethics of human love and brotherhood in a materialistic culture of inverted values where they are regarded as symptoms of insanity. He undertakes this task to the detriment of his relationship with his father, Senator Rosewater, and his wife, Sylvia, and to the suspicion of a young lawyer, Norman Mushari, who threatens to transfer the presidentship of the foundation to Fred Rosewater, the next person in the line, by proving Eliot insane. His father doesn't like his peculiar behaviour and his wife is estranged from him for his reckless activities. She is in the process of obtaining a divorce. As the victims of "*samaritrophia*" they find Eliot's activities uncalled for and irrational. In addition, Eliot's psychiatrist believes that Eliot has the potential for the *samaritrophic* collapse : "And so deep is his commitment to compassion, that, were he to come down with samaritrophia, I sense that he would kill himself, or perhaps kill a hundred others and then be shot down like a dog, before we could treat him"(56). Eliot has to cope with the threats posed by Norman Mushari; he has to get over the resistance offered by his father and wife; and he has to protect himself from catching the disease of '*samaritrophia*" while fighting against it. Thus, Eliot is put into a difficult situation which requires him to assume a strategic posture to survive with his humanity and sanity intact.

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Eliot cultivates madness as a gimmick to prevail over his predicament. He says " 'I don't want to look like me' " (33). He lives in a bizarre manner; he drinks heavily; he moves from place to place and exchanges different dresses with different people; he donates money to the poor and writes checks to the science-fiction writers and advises them to write for the betterment of society. He offers his poor and useless fellowmen love, money and medicine to encourage them to love. Eliot becomes a lunatic to overcome his dread of nothingness, to practise his morality of mutual love and brotherhood and to protect himself as well as others from the spectre of materialism. People dismiss him as boozing wastrel, a mad man. But, as we move towards the end of the novel, Eliot's insane activities prove to be the protestations of a sane person who has completely given himself to the service of poor and helpless human beings.

Eliot's madness is not the "metaphysical madnss" of Fyodor Dostoevsky's Ivan Karmazov, a believer who transformed himself into a "mad blasphemer" demanding "absolute justice."[9] Nor is it the "existential madness" of Herman Melville's Bartelby the Scrivener who was full of hatred for the world, so much so that he preferred to die than to live in the company of others. Nor is it the "clinical madness" of the patients of Sigmund Freud who needed systematic psychiatric treatment. Eliot's madness is a posture which he assumes to fight against the evil of materialism in society, a real contagious madness prevalent among the modern generation, without being affected by it. Like Yossarian's in Joseph Heller's *Catch-22* and McMurphy's in Ken Kesey's *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, Eliot's madness is in the spirit of defiance against a social order that is averse to human freedom and dignity. Moreover, as Saul Bellow says in *Henderson the Rainking*, "Of course, in an age of madness, to expect to be untouched by madness is a form of madness. But the pursuit of sanity can be a form of madness, too."[10] And, Harrington contends in his *Psychopaths*, "the best way to break free from a sick civilization is to cultivate a form of madness that will help the individual to attain a measure of freedom."[11] Hence Eliot plays the politics of madness for personal security and freedom of action. In fact, Eliot's is not the destructive madness of Colonel Cathcart and other soliders in *Catch-22* or of the Big Nurse and her colleagues in *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. It is a creative phenomenon whereby Eliot preserves his own psychic health, individual freedom and other's lives. Therefore, Klinkowitz rightly observes that "The madness in

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Vonnegut's cosmos goes beyond the clinical illness. To maintain an integral self in this chaotic world is schizophrenia writ large."[12]

Like Hamlet, Eliot is put into a vicious situation which poses a threat to both his life and morality, and compels him to assume madness to defeat evil. Both of them start with a "moral bent" and "intellect", but their purposes differ : Hamlet feigned madness to detect the guilty and punish him. And he did so, but at the cost of his own life; Eliot acts crazy to counter the scientific materialism of our times without risking his life. Therefore, Eliot's position is no less difficult than that of Hamlet. Eliot himself knows about it :

> Hamlet had one big edge over me. His father's ghost told him exactly what he had to do, while I am operating without instructions. But from somewhere something is trying to tell me where to go, what to do there, and why to do it. Don't worry, I don't hear voices. But there is this feeling that I have a destiny far away from the shallow and preposterous posing that is our life in New York. And I roam. (42)

Maybe Eliot harbours this feeling out of his delusions of grandeur. But by becoming insane, Eliot doesn't achieve Hamlet's high seriousness commensurate with his high ideals. On the contrary, he achieves with it the buoyancy of "a toy balloon" (39) which enables him to bounce over the difficulties involved in his task. Through his peculiar behaviour Eliot becomes a laughing stock, a regular clown, which serves a threefold purpose in the story : *it gives comic enjoyment to the reader; it makes it difficult for others to make out the method in his madness which continuously protects him from their selfish designs; and it helps him to handle everything in a comic gusto so that his vocation doesn't develop into a burden on him.*

Through his clownish playfulness, Eliot keeps Mushari in doubt till the end. He finds Eliot's playfulness impossible to explain in a court of law and hence fails in his evil intentions. His father attributes his crazy behaviour to his heavy drinking : " '. . . I've said it before, and I'll say it again : This is basically a booze problem. If Eliot's booze were shut off, his compassion for the maggots in the slime on the bottom of the human garbage pail would vanish' "(59). Therefore he allows Eliot to pursue his "experiment" in the hope that Eliot would get over it soon. Eliot's wife, Sylvia, too thinks that the heart of the problem

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lies in Eliot's excessive drinking (79) and leaves him free. His peculiar behaviour makes it difficult for his psychiatrist to diagnose his neurosis: " '. . . What the nature of that neurosis is I can't imagine. In one solid year of work, I have not succeeded in even scratching its armor plate' " (38). Dr. Brown resigns out of disgust and "Eliot seemed merely amused by the doctor's dismissal : 'It's a cure he doesn't understand, so he refuses to admit it's a cure', he said lightly" (38). In fact, Eliot's madness is a well-calculated "cure" for dehumanisation and death caused by the determinative forces of modern technological society. Others fail to understand his real motives and speak of him variously as " 'The Nut', 'The Saint', 'the Holy Roller', 'John the Baptist', and so on" (18). Thus Eliot becomes a mixed character——"a drunkard, a Utopian dreamer, a tinhorn saint, an aimless fool" (23)——and eludes the greedy characters like Mushari and the *samaritrophics* like Senator Rosewater and Sylvia. Eliot escapes all the hurdles and goes his way unhampered. The story takes an interesting turn when Eliot leaves the Rosewater City for Indianapolis to prove himself sane before the court as required by the lawyers of the foundation. Some people meet him personally, and some call him on the phone, fearing that he may not return to them again. They tell him that he is everything for them. And, quite confident, Eliot assures them that he would come back soon.

Kilgore Trout, who is present during the trial, defends Eliot's love by apprising the court with what is real about him. He tells Eliot's opponents that Eliot is a wise man in the guise of a lunatic. Whatever he does in the Rosewater County is far from insane because the pressing need in our time is to love those who are of no use. In time almost all men and women will be turned worthless as "producers of goods, foods, services, and more machines" (210) and we have to find reasons to love and preserve them because "they are *human beings*" (210). His devotion to the volunteer fire department "is very sane too . . . for they are, when the alarm goes off, almost the only examples of enthusiastic unselfishness to be seen in this land. They rush to the rescue of any human being, and count not the cost . . .' " (211). Like a prophet, Trout spreads his hands and says, " 'There we have people treasuring people as people. It's extremely rare. So from this we must learn' " (211). In order to score over Trout's statements, the lawyers lastly ask him to explain how all the women claim Eliot to be the father of their children. In reply, Eliot adopts all the children in the Rosewater County giving them full rights of inheritance as his sons and daughters (217) and turns the

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table against his adversaries like a very intelligent and sane person.

Eliot doesn't accomplish the final act of philanthropy out of an impulse. Before he settles "everything instantly, beautifully and fairly" (215), Eliot meets on his way to Indianapolis several people like Delbert Peach (170), Roland Barry (194), and Diana Moon Glimpers (196). Also, he gets telephone calls from Mary Moody (172) and an unknown woman (181). All of them tell him that he is their saviour, and he must return to them. This gives further impetus to Eliot's moral courage and consequently he adopts all the children "regardless of blood type" (217).

After accomplishing the last act of magnanimity Eliot returns to his people not only as the president of the Rosewater Foundation but also as a husband to every woman and a father to every child. All the people in Rosewater County belong to him and he belongs to them all. They join to form a big family which, in Vonnegut's opinion, is a remedy for the psychic traumas of loneliness and death generated by a lonesome society fragmented by the factory system.[13] As Eliot passes through his situation, he becomes a messiah of love and brotherhood, a saviour of the sinful, a helper of the helpless, and an employer of the useless by his services to them. He assumes madness as a *modus operandi* to cultivate the culture of mutual love, sympathy, and brotherhood. This gives Eliot the feeling of being a free individual, living a meaningful life. In his madness Eliot affirms that "it is better to be 'crazy' in some way than to drift on in the almost catatonic moral stupor and calm of the majority."[14] As a matter of fact, in *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* Vonnegut creates a personal humanism based on human love, universal peace and prosperity as a remedy to the growing cult of war, violence, racial prejudices, and national rivalries in the present day world. The author projects it through the mad theatrics of Eliot in order to instruct and entertain the reader simultaneously. Finally one can say that implicit in Eliot Rosewater's madness is the politics of peaceful human coexistence in an age of scientific materialism and nuclear antagonism.

NOTES

1. "The Unconfirmed Thesis : Kurt Vonnegut, Black Humor, and Contemporary Art", 12, No. 3, *Critique*, pp. 5-28.
2. "Mithridates, he died old.' Black Humor and Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.," *Hollin's Critic*, 3, No. 4 (October, 1966), 1-12.
3. Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., *Wampeters, Foma and Granfalloons (Opinions)* (New York : Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence, 1974), p. 108.

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4. Morris Dickstein, "Black Humour and History : Fiction in the Sixties" *Partisan Review*, 43, No. 2 (1976), 186.
5. Bakononism is based on the assumption that truth alone cannot be enough for a person. Hence one should discover new lies in new circumstances in order to ignore the bitter facts of existence. In *Cat's Cradle*, Bokonon, the founder of the religion, offers a pack of *foma*, the "harmless untruths", which the people of San Lorenzo use in order to be able to live with the painful conditions of life on their island.
6. In *Slaughterhouse-Five* the protagonist survives the madness of war by creating his own value system which, surprisingly, resembles the Hindu Philosophy of the Vedanta. Billy's preoccupation with a time space conditioning of man's situation suggests his interest in viewing man's condition through something like a "Cosmic Consciousness".
7. Burton Feldman, "Anatomy of Black Humor", *The American Novel Since World War II*, ed. Marcus Klein (Greenwich, Conn. : Fawcett Publications, 1969). p. 224.
8. Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater, OR Pearls Before Swine* (New York : Dell Publishing Co., 1965), p. 15. Further references absorbed in the text with page number are to this edition.
9. Charles I, Glicksberg, "Forms of Madness in Literature". *Arizono Quarterly*, 17, No. I (Spring 1961), 47.
10. Saul Bellow, *Henderson the Rainking* (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1966), p. 27.
11. Quoted in Glicksberg's *The Literature of Commitment* (Lewisburg : Bucknell University Press, 1976) p. 167.
12. Jerome Klinkowitz, *Literary Disruptions : The Making of a Post-Contemporary American Fiction* (Urbana : University of Illinois Press, 1975), p. 42.
13. Kurt Vonnegut, "Play Boy Interview", *Wampeters, Foma and Granfalloons (Opinions)*, pp. 241-243.
14. Tony Tanner, *City af Words : American Fiction, 1950—1970* (London : Jonathan Cape, 1971), p. 193.

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THE AESTHETICS OF ANAIS NIN : ARIADNE WITHIN THE ECHO CHAMBER

Hoshang D. Merchant

In *Diary* VI, Anais Nin writes of a film on musique concrète : "The only effect I responded to was the echo which gave a feeling of immense space, of it all happening on other planets" (p. 234). This could be a comment on Anais Nin's own art which is a response to Symbolism, Surrealism and psychoanalysis.

Baudelaire[1] is the progenitor : his emphasis on the theory of 'correspondance', his stress on human beauty, his charting of the infernal regions. His heirs are Mallarmé who stresses art as a linguistic game and Rimbaud whose aesthetic stance is that of the seer. Both the elements of game and vision touch upon psychoanalysis and the Surrealist aesthetic and both are indeed used for her own purposes by Anais Nin in her fiction.

Poetry becomes an ethic, an obsession 'to change life'. The Baudelairean motto is 'To the depths of the unknown to find the new.'[2] Anais Nin's mottoes are the Jungian : 'Proceed from the dream outwards' and the Rankian 'Birth of the Hero'. If the pain of life is in separateness, healing comes from fusion, identification, immersion into life, nature, people and things. Novalis went into those regions, so did Blake. Nerval and Breton followed. Nerval lost his mind, searching for the garter of the Queen of Sheba : 'I believe the human imagination has invented nothing that is not true', Nerval said and by a second truth, the visible world is also true.[3] They are spiritualists and materialists at once, these poets from Nerval to Nin, slaves of both body and mind. Between dream and life the poets seek their path. Novalis says, 'In this state of illusion it is less the subject who perceives the object than conversely, the objects which come to perceive themselves in the subject.'[4] What Narcissus asks of the sense-object world is that it give him the images to express the world of his dreams, his soul. Baudelaire called this abandonment of the self to the dream 'sacred prostitution of the soul' and raised himself to the state of 'universal communion' where subject and object, body and mind, absorb one another.[5]

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'Alchemize the life of the mind into the life of the senses', says Nin.

In purely aesthetic terms 'correspondance' assumes the literary aspect of metaphor, symbol, allegory. This is the intermediary language between the world and the soul, between the macrocosm and the microcosm, the seer and his fold. There are equivalences between the various sense data: scents, colors, sounds (the phehomenon of synesthesia or 'colored audition').[6] Lawrence Durrell swore he saw shapes and colors in Anais Nin's *House of Incest*.[7] 'The arts aspire, if not to complement one another, at least to lend one another new energies', said Baudelaire.[8] For the last half-century the dream of 'the merger of the arts' has not ceased to haunt the imagination of poets. A capital article of Symbolist aesthetic is to consciously exploit the musical resources of language. The younger writers like Nin have allied themelves with painters as well as musicians :

> My only structure is based on three forms of art—painting, dancing, music—because they correspond to the sense I find atrophied in literature today; and these forms are those most directly connected with life : the eyes, body, emotions (*Diary* IV, p. 150).

All this is not for art's sake. *Los Fleurs du Mal* has a celebrated passage :

> In this atrocious book I have put all my heart, all my tenderness, all my religion (travestied), all my hate. True, I shall write the opposite, I shall swear by all that is sacred that it is a book of pure art.[9]

Anais Nin prefaces her *House of Incest* thus : 'All I know is contained in the book written without witness, an edifice without dimension, a city hanging in the sky'. And again :

> The morning I got up to begin this book I coughed. . . . I went back to bed and said : I have just spat out my heart./There is an instrument called the quena made of human bones. It owes its origin to the worship of an Indian for his mistress/Only I do not wait for my love to die.

If there is an element of play in these writers it is no innocent game they are playing. The protagonist in Anais Nin's first unpublished

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novel was called John Novel. (John as in Lawrence's 'John Thomas' and Novel also as in 'make it new', besides meaning 'fiction'.) Her last character was Lillian Beye in *Solar Barque.* ('Bey' as in 'former Turkish provincial governors'.) The moralist is an artist, 'passionately in love with passion and coldly determined to find the means of expressing it', as Baudelaire said of Delacroix.[10] Intellectual attention alone would thwart the rapture of the soul. *Fleurs du Mal* was originally entitled *Les Limbes* and the human beauty aspired to is not without its infernal aspect. The premise of these poets' song is the sensory forest, the night of the unconscious. The landscape is urban, the fascination is with interiors. Djuna in the story 'The Voice', included in *Winter of Artifice*, is lost in a New York maze of basements, elevators. Anais Nin is lost in the labyrinth-alleys of the ancient city of Fez. Djuna in *Children of the Albatross* is within her orange-painted walls 'creating a mise en scène for a great love'. The cyclic novel is named *Cities of the Interior*, equal emphasis on 'the city' and 'the interior' : rooms, houses, caverns, labyrinths.

The Surrealist absorption of the internal and external, subject and object meant that everything is equal, everything is essentially kin. (Lautrémont's umbrella and sewing machine on the operating table, Nin's umbrella in the astronomer's den in *A Spy in the House of Love.*) This was a spiritualist position, a mysticism, on the part of the Surrealists gradually abandoned in favor of dialectical materialism, a communism closer to utopianism.[11] Marxism became the new religion which was to be abandoned when social injustices were corrected and man was to return to his true destiny, an awareness of his precariousness. Desnos, in a quasi-demonical, angelistic vein, said, 'I don't believe in God. No one has a mind more religious than mine. The questions I'm willing to admit are all insoluble'.[12] There exists a snobbery of malaise and despair, abandoned by Nin only in *Dairy* VI : 'the artist does not have to be neurotic, creation in calm is possible.' She remained staunchly aesthetic throughout, and her only practical action designed to change the course of the world was 'to change life', namely, one's own. Woman will then reconstruct the world. 'Zen is the art of not going insane.'[13] Even Marx stressed subjectivity, a fellow feeling towards one's fellowmen; it was subjectivism he killed once and for all.[14] Or, as Popper argues, subjectivity is the intensest form of objectivity implying one's willingness to *become* the object or person one is subjectively interstedin.[15] Narcissus is willing to risk his sanity. In the absence of god and personal love, we trun to the heresy of the self.

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> Poetry's I is the substantial depth of the living and loving subjectivity, it is a subject as act, marked with the diaphaneity and expansiveness proper to the operations of the spirit. Poetry's I resembles the I of the saint and likewise, although in other fashions, it is an I that gives.[16]

In aesthetic terms this madness is verbal, it boils down to a new theory of aesthetic language. Nin's precursor here is Mallarmé. There is a distinction between the 'immediate word', an instrument of daily intercourse, and the 'essential word', an instrument of power. The world is to be known orphically, in all its mystery. To explain a thing is to know it, to, reduce it to oneself. Orpheus is to be, therefore, hyperconscious, not vague. He must search for words for the mysteries he knows and feels. 'The word with its vowels and dipthongs represents a kind of flesh', said Mallarmé.[17] There remains a *linguistic art* : a separation between the communicative and creative functions of language. Anais Nin's art like Mallarmé's is an experimental and linguistic art of poetic value and meaning of words. [The girls who strongly objected to Anais Nin's 'boulevard throwing off erotic sparks' (*Diary* V) are doomed to failure as long as they see words realistically instead of poetically.] In poetry and poetic novel words are polyvalent, which means they are essentially complex to begin with; what is more, they are in a process of transformation. The aesthetic pleasure is in hearing the resonances, the overtones as in music. Images will slip in obliquely. They will remain undeveloped, implied in one another, flash a spark, vanish, (as in the sand passage in *A Spy In The House of Love*). The sentences or poem is sustained by the linguistic tension inherent in it. It is a gratuitous game. However, these individualistic and impressionist writers wish to produce an impersonal work, the Book, the Poem : Valèry's 'poetic instinct leading blindly to the truth',[18] Anais Nin's 'personal life deeply lived reaching the (Jungian) well-waters of the universal'. The general and the universal are rediscovered at the very roots of subjectivity. The poem, or the novel, or the dream acquires the elegance of a 'blue print' (a favorite Nin word). Poetry of the self is transformed into a poetry of the mind. 'Purify the source' (Mavriac).

This is what Eluard meant when he said "the world must be desensualised"[19] i.e., it must be made aesthetic, experience must be given linguistic or enduring verbal form. Human passion, sexual, quasi-sexual, or supra-sexual, should get an artistic, i.e., an inhuman or supra-human expression : the de-humanization achieved by art. "The vice called Surrealism", writes Louis Aragon, "is the immoderate and

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passionate use of the drug which is the image".[20] Lyrical transfiguration is achieved at the cost of logical coherence. Some "correspondances" of Baudelaire stress relationships grasped solely by the mind. Automatism is not autistic. Autistic thought is illogical, in contrast to 'directed' thought aiming at social adjustment to reality. Breton in his *Manifesto of Surrealism* has stated, "the most effective image is the one that has the highest degree of arbitrariness."[21] We are literally in the linguistic world of mental patients. Nin, however, came in for praise from Edmund Wilson in his *New Yorker* review of *Under a Glass Bell* for not overdoing the Surrealistic vein in writing (*Diary* III, p. 310). "Psychic automatism," since it requires an uninterrupted flow of words, normally leads to prose. To start a new line after a sentence, a complement, an epithet already implies the intention to make "a poetic arrangement."[22] Nin's arrangement, like Baudelaire's, is symphonic. The completed work, even the daily journal, comes out as a perfect synthesis, all of whose psychic and musical elements have been integrated into an infinitely complex and coherent system of reciprocal relations, like a symphony, which strikes the listener as being of one piece, a musical organism uttered by a single voice, but which is nonetheless the result of patient elaboration. Anais Nin's comment on Marguerite Young's work illustrates as much Nin's own method : "Language used to hypnotize. Her work is a symphony. She is an acrobat of space; flying from image to image, word to word in an unbroken rhythm" (*Diary* VI, p. 215).

The development of the symphonic poem in prose is Rimbaud's achievement. Nin's *House of Incest* has been called a woman's *Saison en Enfer*. "Je suis le Bateau ivre," Nin has written (*Diary* IV, p. 176). But the game of the seer is deadly earnest. We are in the age of assasins, the seer is against state, family, love, morality, church, all the products of the human mind. The thesis is anti-intellectual. The new language to be discovered is the language of the nerves, the language of jazz. The aesthetic calls for freedom from fear, an immersion into all life experience, in short, for madmen, a freedom from 'culture'. (Critics labelled Sabina an 'alley-cat in heat,' *Diary* VI, p. 279, Lillian a slithering snake at a barrel-bottom singing 'I Love Daddy'). The new conception of literature breaks with bourgeois, puritan culture, becomes prophetic, esoteric. The poet's body becomes an antenna for piercing the unconscious. "We are not in the world !" is the cry of *Une Saison en Enfer*. The poet must re-create himself demonically; for women in love, "reinvention of love" is a necessity. The artist's rebirth from neuroticism into health is what Nin learns from Otto Rank. The stress is not on subjective madness, but

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madness to reach a fidelity to emotion, to the inspired state; in order to be able to 'change life.' The poet's need is anti-social initially, to be loved for himself so that ultimately he can love everybody as a god, requite a social function. The quest is mystical and psychological : to stray from the fold in order to return to it.

The quest could be mystical : Rimbaud as a yogi, the Surrealists as world-dreamers, the para-psychology of esoteric tradition, Surrealism as a *mystique*, poetic creation a 'revelation'. There is in the Surrealists, as in Rimbaud,

> a deep nostalgia and regret at the impossibility of going back to the source where potentialities exist side by side without excluding one another to the chaos preceding able determination to the central, anonymous, infinite focus of the universe.[23]

Breton writes :

> Everything suggests the belief that there is a certain point of the mind where life and death, the real and the imaginary, the past and the future, the communicable and the incommunicable, the high and the low are no longer perceived as contradictions. It would be vain to look for any motive in Surrealist activity other than the logic of determining that point.[24]

The primary nay-saying to society is in danger of becoming the ultimate nay-saying. Dada : double affirmation, double negation.

Rimbaud's "change of life" became an abandonment of poetry; he became a businessman in Africa giggling at silly jokes from behind the back of his hand; his infinite love-gesture, leaving his legacy to a homosexual boyslave.[25] Aragon definitely assures us "there are no paradises of any kind."[26] Most of the Surrealists failed to find anything more inward than the self.

In Nin's fiction there are no final illuminations and no deaths (except Dr. Hernandez's in the last novel). Fiction is not a product. Like life, it is a process. The form of the *Diary* is circular, the form that life imposes on it. The pull to "live anywhere outside the world" (Rimbaud) is primarily an ethic of hope. But it presages a return "to tell what no one has seen" (Nin). The Hindu states of karma, or the Tibetan states of bardo, Nin asserts are all in this life; we die to our

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former selves to be born eternally anew. The thesis is clearly psychoanalytic. If the world is nothing if we negate it, then that's everything we have got. As in Nishida's[27] Hegel (coupled with orientalism) the nothingness of oriental philosophy is synonymous with the everythingness of this world. We come from nothing, and go to nothing and pass through this life's nothingness which is everything. We are not born with nothing though, we are born with a body, eyes, hands—to dream, to see, to act, and to change continually. Angelism, individualism, the original sin, should eventually lead to a renouncing of that sin, i e., to social merger. In Anais Nin's fluid vision, there is no arriving, no crystallization, only newer catalysts, newer alchemies. Everything is tentative like life, even the novel's final form.

The eastern "maya" (life-illusion) is the Surrealistic oneric vision. In *Le Reve éveillé* we read :

> In normal persons the day-dream is present almost continuously . . . The dream must be regarded as a constant procession on the mental horizons of fragments of memories, of all sorts of images . . . premonitions, forebodings, and signs of an indisputable reality whose mechanism is totally unknown to us.[28]

We must pierce the veil. The true Surrealists went mad, others played at schizophrenic word-salads. But the ideal remains, in the words of Artaud, "material levitation" :

> Teach us, Lama, material levitation of the body and how we can be held no longer by the earth/We are surrounded by roughneck popes, scribblers, critics, dogs; our Spirit is among the dogs, whose thoughts are immediately earthbound, who think incorrigibly in the present.[29]

> You who are not imprisoned in the flesh, who learned at what point in its carnal trajectory, its senseless comings and goings, the soul finds the absolute *verb*, the new world, the inner land; you know how one turns back into one's thoughts, *how the spirit can be saved from itself* . . .[30]

How the spirit can be saved from itself : "I renounce renunciation," Anais Nin definitely told a *guru*. She herself has been called a Bodhisatva postponing final entry into Nirvana until others can be saved, a peri suffering day-labor for the sins of her ancestors, a Venus with whom love is a sickness and a daily need and she good humoredly reports whenever she is duped. From individuality her movement has been outward.

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Her War-Diary has been called a 'refusal to despair' and a Zen study of her work is at hand. What is Zen ? The refusal to become a cripple. Anais Nin started writing when a childhood malady was wrongly diagnosed as being permanently crippling. She has been called "esoteric" and she has been accepted as a precursor of the women's movement though the radical feminists have rejected her vision of a woman as being only completed by a man. Her personal horoscope reads like an allegory of modern womanhood :

> Libra rising. But Mars rising therein and retrograde symbolizes passion for life, but passion which is to justify and purify itself. Passion which is ever trying to balance soul intensity and body intensity. It is also a symbol of tremendous energy . . . . She can pull herself back from death's door . . . . Venus is the most malefic influence in the whole horoscope. Love is her bondage. It demands she sacrifice herself to the passional service of Man the father-son-God-brother-Christ-lover-king-beast-man ! So free yet so enslaved. Her Venus is the old pagan Venus rising from the sea (*Diary* III, pp. 250-51).

She considered astrology not as a falsehood but a myth, a blue-print for living. In astrological terms the writing itself is Plutonian aiming at Uranian clarity.

Life and art, *The Diary* and the novel are her *Vases Communicantes*. *The Diary* which was to be her touch with life began to be organized as a monumental work of art, the fiction which was to be her distillation of life found characters ready-made in life. (See *Collages*.) Of Prousts' work it is said that he best exemplifies the tragic distance between the aesthetic ideal and the unfulfilled life as he lived it. Anais Nin's entire life-effort has been to use art to get out of the labyrinth. Writing of her attendance at a Roman masquerade she says in *Diary* V :

> I wore a pleated-nylon nightgown shaped like a Roman robe . . . . My handsome escort was dressed as a Roman soldier and the two of us took poses of Roman friezes against a white wall (p. 142).

This theatricality of life—which explains the romantic success of the 'poses' executed by Emma Hamilton—is more admirable than the opposite principle, when the theatre is preoccupied with imitating life.[31] Life so obligingly imitates art that we begin to wonder if all this is real.

Sabina's madness (and later Renate's) we are told was that she took

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her madness to be her real face. There was no distinction for her between reality and symbol. When Anais Nin enters Siegfried's (pseudonym) den she sees an umbrella hanging upside down from the ceiling. Ah Lautréamont ! Louis Aragon and Andre Breton recount in their "Quinquagenary of Hysteria" :

> When an emotion is sincere, profound and stirs the human soul, there is no room for hysteria. One more reason for being better informed. Does Freud, who owes so much to Charcot, remember the time-confirmed by survivors—when the interns at Salpetrière confused their professional duties and their taste for love, after nightfall, when patients met them outside or received them in their beds ?[32]

The British psychoanalyst R. D. Laing calls society schizogenic, and reminds his patients : (1) Reality is real. (2) Reality is unreal. (3) Reality is both real and unreal.[33] Djuna Barnes' heroine at the end of her love-odyssey in *Nightwood* barks like a dog, Anais Nin's Lillian at the end of five novels relives her marriage and her trauma, Anais Nin herself at the end of six volumes of diaristic introspection breaks out into *Le Journal Des Autres*. The life-long effort has been one of discipline, Japanese stoicism of a Lady Murasaki who told her tale elegantly in a savage age, who religiously made up her face in illness and possible death. Dora Maar retreated into semi-monasticism. Disintegration could lead to re-integration :

> We have to split the atom to release new energies. We can no longer work with violin, piano, cello, which are always the same. We must break them down to obtain new sounds (Varèse, Cage), new combinations. As in painting, a distortion of a commonplace image creates a new image. So we distort a violin note, a bell note, with tape and scissors, like cutting a film, and we create new effects more like our own life (*Diary* VI, p. 234).

Tape-and-scissors cutting allows the Sabina of *Ladder to Fire* to reappear in *A Spy in the House of Love*, for Lillian of *Ladders to Fire* to reappear in *Seduction of the Minotaur* and so on. Novel-writing learns from film-editing.

Or, the novel has been compared to a mobile. Like modern sculpture, modern writing aims at movement; sound lays claim to color, painting to music and light as in cubist paintings. The five separate

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novels comprising *Cities of the Interior* do not form a sequence in time. They live spatially as mobiles or collages do. There are no conclusions to these individual novels, as there are no conclusions to the 'portraits' in the *Diary* or to the individual short stories (a Surrealist credo). Lillian in *Ladders to Fire* is left at the end gaping like a cat at her reflection in a mirror she found propitiously placed in a garden. Paul, the boy-lover, sails off to India at the end of *Children of the Albatross*, Djuna attempts to drown the ill-fated love barque at the end of The *Four-Chambered Heart*, the nymphomaniac's odyssey in *A Spy in the House of Love* ends in tears at music, Lillian in the final novel, *Seduction of the Minotaur* re-lives a hopefully liberating psychodrama involving her husband.

> Something is always happening, anybody knows a quantity of stories of people's lives that are always happening. There are plenty for the newspapers and there are always plenty in private life. Everybody knows so many stories and what is the use of telling another story ? There is always a story going on. So naturally what I wanted to do in my play is what everybody did not know or always tell.[34]

At the end Gertrude Stein is quoted.

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POETRY IN THE DRAMA OF JOHN ARDEN

P. C. David

John Arden ranks highest among the contemporary English playwrights in employing poetry in his plays and in making a highly innovative use of it. Arden's concept of poetic theatre is very different from that of T. S. Eliot or Christopher Fry who were committed to the theatre of the 'magic box' which comprised one wall removed, allowing the audience to look in and to see people behaving as they do in real life. They were not involved with the theatre. Arden sought to transform the theatre radically through poetry and songs and in doing so he went to two sources : the British traditions of the ballad and the literature close to the ballad traditions and the theatrical technique of Brecht, particularly his technique of employing songs to achieve his theatrical effect.

Arden asserted in 'Telling a True Tale', a short essay he wrote in *Encore* in 1960 which became 'a manifesto about his choice of language and style',[1] that what he is "deeply concerned with is the problem of translating the concrete life of today into terms of poetry that shall at the one time both illustrate that life and set it within the historical and legendary tradition of our culture."[2] He believes that the basis of this legendary tradition and culture is the ballad. "The bedrock of English poetry is the ballad",[3] he says. He gives a list of writers like Chaucer, Skelton, Shakespeare, Jonson, Defoe, Gay, Burns, Dickens, Hardy and Joyce who 'built close to the bedrock'. He feels the need to revive this great tradition, as "the English public has regrettably lost touch with its own poetic traditions".[4]

The writers, Arden mentions, are not "the only important writers of our history, but they form a line with strongly defined hereditary features, and they wrote from a basic unvarying poetic standpoint."[5] Thus Arden looks upon his works as a part of a tradition the core of which is poetic. He finds the ballad to be the oldest and simplest form of traditional poetry. "The ballads are the oral culture of the people," says Frances Gray, "the matter they deal with are the most basic of all; they are about survival, about birth and death and resurrection; they are often grotesque, often violent, and, as Arden points out, extraordinarily

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anarchic.... The real strength of the ballads, as Arden sees them, is that they combine an intensely felt life with a structure which can support any weight of meaning."[6] Describing the ballads as traditional poetry, Arden says, "The themes of traditional poetry are always the same. Simple basic situations—a pregnant girl is abandoned by her lover—a soldier is recruited for war."[7] In the ballads Arden also finds 'primary' colours representing the familiar experiences of man : "Black is for death, and for the coal mines. Red is for murder, and for the soldier's coat the collier puts on to escape from his black...."[8] Though the range of Arden's experimentation with the form of drama and with the theatre became amazingly wide and complex, he did not give up the use of the ballads and songs which kept his drama anchored to the British poetic tradition.

We shall examine the songs and poetic speeches in some plays of Arden, the dramatic purpose they serve and how they make Arden's theatre distinctive. It is good to begin with *Serjeant Musgrave's Dance*, first performed in 1959 at the Royal Court Theatre, which is regarded as his *magnum opus* and as a classic of twentieth century English drama. The central theme and idea of the play is pacifist; it is an anti-war play with a complex structure. Arden employs only a few songs in the play but they emanate from the context and are very appropriate to the situation. All the songs in the play are in the manner of Brecht's epic theatre and, as in Brecht, they serve to create what Brecht calls "the alienation effect" : they disengage the feelings of the audience from the action of the play and prevent the audience's identification with the characters in order that the audience may be able to reflect on the idea and message of the play dispassionately. They have the rhythm, structure and imagery of the ballad.

The song that Annie, the young favourite lass of the soldiers, sings in the beginning of the play is taken up with the soldier's life and reflects on the theme of the play. It prefigures some of the incidents of the play—roaring drum, killings, death—and becomes an emblem of the timeless romance and adventure of a soldier's life. Like the ballad, it is rooted in an ageless tradition :

To march behind his roaring drum,
Shout to us all : 'Here I come
I've killed as many as I could—
I'm stamping into your fat town

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From the war and to the war
And every girl can be my whore
Just watch me lay them squealing down.
And that's what he does and so do we.
Because we know he'll soon be dead
We strap our arms round the scarlet red
Then send him weeping over the sea.
Oh he will go and a long long way.
Before he goes we'll make him pay
Between the night and the next cold day—
By God there's a whole lot more I could say—

(Act I, II)

The song serves as a compendium of the action of the play. It points to Musgrave's and his band's 'stamping' into the town from a war to another war and the killings. Lines thirteen and fourteen make a veiled reference to the killing of Billy Hicks which is the main event on which the climactic 'recruitment scene' hinges. It has all the elements that Arden finds in the traditional ballad : its primary concern with war, love, death, farewell, murder and a racy evocation of a soldier's life with its chivalry.

The song has 'primary' colours of the ballad. Here we find red of 'the soldier's coat' and of murder; the black night : "black is for death". The song has a twofold relevance : it makes a pointed reference to the frame of action and events in the play and yet it is universal in outlook. If it were not general and universal in its appeal, it would not have the effect Arden desired in his plays. He is aware of the functional value of poetry. He asserts, ". . . the effect of poetry becomes universal even if the people are not entirely aware of what it is that causes their response. Brecht was always alive to this, and, from the German point of view, he constantly worked upon the principle."[9] Arden works upon this principle from the English point of view. He is deeply concerned with the theatrical significance of poetry : "The theatrical poet must be general in his appeal. If he is too private his plays will only be valued for reading, or (like most of Yeats' work) will only be found actable before small audiences in a drawing room theatre."[10]

So the appeal of Arden's songs in his plays is both particular and general at the same time. They are rooted in their situations and at the same time open out and expand from their context. Annie's song does not close formally—'By God there's a whole lot more

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I could say—'. The same effect we find in Attercliff's song also in Act III, II—'I plucked a blood-red rose flower down/And gave it to my dear.' Drawing upon the traditional ballad themes of love and war, it makes use of symbols which have a universal significance and meaning : blood-red rose symbolising love and bloodshed and apple symbolising sin, the original sin. The apple is used by Arden as a symbol of sin at other places in the play also. The apple in the specific situation in the song symbolises continuity of life—'For the apple holds a seed will grow/In live and lengthy joy', and its ironic import consists in Attercliff and his band being hanged soon after. The song sung in a serious situation disengages the feelings of the audience.

I should like to dwell upon Musgrave's song that he sings in the most poignant situation in the play, in the market place scene which marks the most intense moment in the play's action. The skeleton of Billy Hicks dressed in a soldier's tunic and trousers is hoist with a rope before the people who draw back in horror and 'Musgrave begins to dance, waving his rifle, his face contorted with demoniac fury.'

Musgrave (*as he dances, sings, with mounting emphasis*).

Up he goes and no one knows
How to bring him downwards
Dead man's feet
Over the street
Riding the roofs
And crying down your chimneys
Up he goes and no one knows
Who it was that rose him
But white and red
He waves his head
He sits on your back
And you'll never never lose him
Up he goes and no one knows
How to bring him downwards.

(III, I).

This song is Brechtian in its purpose. It focuses the attention of the audience on the event and its subject. It is both a commentary upon the event and an enactment of it. Musgrave's intention is to make the people aware of the cruelty of war, of the tragedy of soldiers like Billy Hicks who are the victims of war, and this he presents vividly in the song

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as Billy Hicks' skeleton goes up. The song is rooted in its situation. Arden, like Brecht, wants his audience to reflect on the subject or idea, and this is made possible by the song in cutting the audience off from what has preceded. The audience never expected it, it suddenly springs upon them. At this point the identification between the audience and Musgrave breaks down totally. The centre of audience's attention is the event which represents the tragedy of war.

Musgrave's action here lends complexity to his motives; from a quiet, passive preacher he passes to a frenzied revolutionary who displays the ravages of violence in its naked form and this behaviour becomes a fit prelude to his suddenly aiming his Gatling gun at the audience shortly afterwards. The song has a fast, short beat and rhythm, is set in a ballad framework and imagery. The hoist skeleton seems to loom large over the whole town—'Riding the roofs/And crying down your chimneys'. The song and the dance of Musgrave are serio-comic in their effect. It is an example of what Brecht designates as "gestic music". 'Gestic music' is a music which has a specific purpose, a 'gest' is a purpose. Brecht explains it thus : "Music's character as a kind of gestic music can hardly be explained except by a survey to establish the social purpose of the new methods. To put it practically gestic music is that music which allows the actor to exhibit certain basic gests on the stage."[11]

For Arden this music is not a mere entertainment; it has a serious theatrical function which is to present an idea on the stage, to which the people have to pay attention seriously. It has the quality which Brecht describes thus in relation to *The Three Penny Opera* : "Its most striking innovation lay in the strict separation of the music from all other entertainments offered."[12] Arden, whose mentor is Brecht, knows the social purpose of music. Musgrave's dance here is a parody of the primitive ritualistic dance of death just as the dance of colliers around the beer barrel in the prison scene when Musgrave is overpowered and imprisoned carries the association of the primitive ritualistic dances of sacrifice and victory in the battle. Herein lies the universality of Musgrave's song and dance.

The Waters of Babylon is an early play of Arden; its plot is somewhat tenuous and thin and consists mostly of exposition. But in this play also Arden makes a deft use of songs and poetic speeches. Krank who is the central character in the play is an immigrant in England. He sings a

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song which is touched with a note of silvery melancholy, as it brings out the pathos of his own life and also serves as a general commentary upon the situation of the immigrants; rooted from their own land and culture and living in an alien land. It is a ballad :

As I went down by Belsen town
I saw my mother there
She said, go by, go by my son, go by,
But leave with me here
Your lovely yellow hair.

As I went down by Auswits town
My brother locked out of the wall
He said, go by, go by my brother, go by,
But leave with me here
The lovely strong tooth from your skull.

As I went down my Buchenwald town
And there for my seetheart I sought
But she whispered, go by, oh my darling go by,
You leave with me here
The lovely red blood of your heart.

(Act I)

There is a pristine, ageless quality about the theme of the song. It catches the adventure, romance and chivalry characteristic of the old ballads. Krank romanticises the drama of his life in the song he has composed : he looks upon his life as a tale of adventure and sacrifice. The song is central to the theme of the play in which Arden seizes on the wildness, fierce energy and diversity of the life of the immigrants in England and shows their contribution to the English society in terms of their varied life governed by different cultural and social mores.

The whole situation of Krank as a character is rooted in the song. The song occurs in the beginning of the play and shapes our attitude to Krank and provides an insight into the action of the play. "The function of the songs and the ballads", observes Frances Gray, "is to crystallize emotions which are too powerful for ordinary speech and also to extend their application. They express situations whose significance is eternal, not confined to the individual gripped by them; and they also comment upon these situations."[13]

The other song that Krank sings arises from a situation in which

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Paul, a Pole immigrant in England, tries to make him a part of a plot to blow up the delegation of the Russians about to visit England. Krank is upset at the thought of violence which he has so far avoided. The thought of violence reminds him of his childhood days when he played with a gun and shot the children who in turn "fired silver bullets up my stair." He renders the whole scene in a song :

O when I was young
I played with a gun
And all the other children in a row
I shot them through the head
Till they lay down dead
And then I did not know
Where to go,
Where to go.

But the children they arose
And came creeping from the ground
And they fired silver bullets up my stair
They woke my true love,
Who was sleeping up above,
Till she ran from me
Tearing out her hair,
Out her hair.

They drove down the doors,
And set fire to my roof,
And they pulled away the pillars of the wall;
I stood in the street
With the rain upon my feet;
While my house so majestical
Did fall—
Oh did fall.

(Act I)

In this tense situation Arden introduces a song which serves to romanticise violence and make it a nostalgic thing, a game of childhood. The contrast here is between the real violence, subversive and secretly planned, and the game of shooting children play with a toy gun. The real and the imaginary have been juxtaposed in the song. Violence gets distanced and romanticised. It takes Krank away from the present reality into the past of childhood and the audience is able to look at the dramatic situation from a remove, with sufficient 'alienation' from it.

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Apart from the songs, Arden creates some very vivid poetic speeches in the play, which he uninhibitedly puts in the mouth of the ordinary characters, and which contribute to the poetic effect of the play. Bathsheba's speech is a superb euphemism for her trade of prostitution. She tells Caligula :

> I keep a gentle warm bed, Councillor, wide and gentle. I could rock you to sleep easy as a swooning ship in a loud storm. I could be the arrow-compass for all your ranging dreams....
>
> (Act II)

Bathsheba, who is from Barbados the memories of which are fresh in her mind as she is living in England, has a penchant for sea imagery. There is something palpably breezy about her; she has a sunny, wavy disposition of the sea in her. She describes the newly arrived girls from Thailand and Jamica, contemplating them as prospective candidates for prostitution :

> ....Not what I'd call real proud—getting young women, not what I'd call flying fish or torpedoes. No sir, just kind of sad and quiet gentle sea-weed laid out dark on a hard cold beach.
>
> (Act II)

Cassidy answers her in equally vivid poetry, reinforcing the beauty of the girls :

> ....No sea—weed but all roaring gorse, wild whitethorn, a chiming tempest of girls, turned that dirty Buston into a true windswept altitude.
>
> (Act II)

The sea imagery here is vivid and shot with a quiet beauty. It testifies to Arden's art of generating poetry around unconventional and unusual subjects. Arden is unconventional and bold not only in the subjects he treats in his poetic utterances but also in ascribing them to the characters who occupy a low position in the social strata.

The Hero Rises Up, one of the later and maturer plays of Arden, is an experimental drama in which he approaches history from an uncoventional angle, dwelling upon the love—life and permissiveness of Nelson, presents him more as a real person than as a romanticised and idealised hero. It is a poetic and lyrical view of history, dramatised in a highly stylized manner and with remarkable technical ingenuity and innovation.

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The sailor's song in the play has been employed as a significant dramatic device, and is a novel dimension of Arden's dramatic art. Written in the balanced stanzas of four lines each, it catches the vigour and violence of sailors' life. Its theme is ageless adventure of marine life :

We caught the chief of the gang
Sing ho for liberty
And we beat him down with many a bang
We meant to make him free.

We tied his arms with a length of twine
Sing ho for liberty
And we dragged him up at the end of a line
That's how we made him free.

We set him on a quarter deck
Sing ho for liberty
And be Jisus he looked like a terrible wreck
But he knew that he was free.

(Act I)

The song is deeply integrated into the action of the play. Immediately on the close of the song, "Caracciolo, roped and dishevelled, is dragged onto the stage," in the manners in which the sailors describe the chief being dragged by them. The song becomes relevant to the situation in the play with poignancy and immediacy. Arden employs a remarkable device of presenting the whole story of the capture of Naples and Caracciolo through the sailor's song. It is a device of economy, which dispensed with the necessity of showing the whole military operation on the stage. If Arden had not described it through the song and only reported it through the characters in a casual dialogue, it would have lost its dramatic effect and significance. The song has a ballad rhythm and structure but its refrain is of a sailor's song.

The imagery is an important element of Arden's songs. He insists on a sharp outline and a vivid colour pattern. Just as his songs grow and expand out of their context and situation and attain a wider significance and meaning in the scheme of things, the poetic images coalesce to convey a unified impression. They point to the main theme, throw it into relief and throw up associations which widen the scope and content of the play. And here also Arden puts his own belief into practice. "So in a play", he says, "the dialogue can be naturalistic and

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'plotty' as long as the basic poetic issue has not been crystallised. But when this point is reached, then the language becomes formal (if you like, in verse, or song), the visual pattern coalesces into a vital image that is one of the nerve centres of the play."[14]

Arden has not only revived poetry in English drama but made it effective device, a means of enhancing theatrical possibilities of a play. It stands out as one of the most distinguished features of his drama.

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LOVE AND MARRIAGE IN KATHERINE ANNE PORTER

Meera Malik

In the 1940 introduction to the Modern Library edition of *Flowering Judas*, Katherine Anne Porter spoke of the "heavy threat of world catastrophe" and added, "Most of the energies of my mind and spirit have been spent in the effort to grasp the meanings of those threats, to trace them to their sources and to understand the logic of this majestic and terrible failure of the life of man in the western world".[1] In tracing this failure, a main line of preoccupation in her fiction has been the failure of love . . . . . the incapacity to imagine fully another's humanity, or to act upon such imagination with the slightest conviction. This paper proposes to highlight this aspect of Miss Porter's work, confining itself to the man-woman relationship : couples who need to love and be loved but who are usually unable to do either. From her first published story "Maria concepción", (1922) to her only novel *Ship of Fools* (1962), her fiction revealed smouldering hatreds, bitter marital quarrelling and hate, suppressed resentments, inability to love, brutal beatings, violent murder; and yet intimately connected with this violence is man's need to live in peace and harmony with another, to "love".

"Perhaps it does not so much matter what one loves in this world. But love something one must", wrote Katherine Mansfield in her last finished story "The Canary". Miss Porter quotes these lines in her essay on Katherine Mansfield.[2] The quest for this love is a pervasive theme of her own work but its importance is underlined by its absence : couples want to devour each other rather than share, they hate more than they love, and what is worse mostly they exist in a stupor of indifference. As she wrote in one of her essays :

> It is hardly possible to exaggerate the lovelessness in which most people live, men or women; wanting love, unable to give it, or inspire it, unable to keep it if they get it, not knowing how to treat it, lacking the humility, or the very love itself that could teach them how to love (CE 53).

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"The trouble with me is . . . always was that if you say 'marriage' to me, instantly, the word translates itself into 'love' only in such terms can I grasp the idea at all . . . " (CE, 187). For Miss Porter marriage is belonging, which she does not want to be confused with possessing. In another essay she says "The best, the very best, of all these relationships is that one in marriage between a man and a woman who are good lovers, good friends, good parents, who belong to each other, and to their children, and whose children belong to them . . . " (CE, 191). This ideal repeated so clearly and so often in her essays is betrayed in story after story. Rarely does she show us the possibilities of such a relationship. She tells us about Annetje and her husband, "Whenever their eyes met, they smiled with a gentle, reserved warmth in their eyes, the smile of long and sure friendship"[3]. This example from "Holiday" is the sole exception of "long and sure friendship". In *Ship of Fools*, we are permitted to see, but never know a bride and groom who are so deeply in love that they are oblivious to all else. Their presence and their elusiveness suggest Miss Porter's concept of love. In the rest of her fiction the couples constantly 'poison'[4] each other. Love gives way to hatred, which in time is replaced by indifference. The couples find the relationship irksome but keep it going; they do not break up either out of sheer inertia or they keep the show going for the sake of society. Some couples (in demanding enough of their beloved to prove their sincerity but not enough to arouse excessive fears of personality extinction) may achieve from time to time a rewarding though temporary balance. Miss Porter is basically more interested in impediments to this balance and failure of the couples to communicate leading to a vicious circle of frustration and hatred.

Of the five marriages or love-affairs referred to in "Theft", not one is happy or successful. The unnamed heroine of the story suffers so greatly from a fear of extinction that she insulates herself from people as well as from things. A number of men figure in her life without meaning anything to her. Camilo is a suitor of sorts but she compares him adversely to a man called Eddie. Although she does not force Bill to pay her the money he owes her, she says enough to spoil their friendship. She is uncomfortable in the ownership of things. To own is to be responsible for, to be concerned, and expend effort on. She betrays a fear of feeling and commitment. She values only herself. She discovers by the end of the story that to love oneself to the exclusion of all other things and persons is ultimately to despise oneself. At the end comes the flash of reality which reveals to her the hell of her

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self-imposed loneliness : "I was right not to be afraid of any thief but myself, who will end by leaving me nothing" (CS, 65).

In "Rope" a young city couple summering in the country falls into a bitter and meaningless quarrel. At the end they make up, primarily because they are exhausted but it is clear that they are doomed to quarrel again and again. Prof. Hendrick sums up the theme; "The he and she of "Rope" never identified by name, are tied together in marriage, but, in their love-hate relationship, they are hanging each other, giving one another enough rope for hanging, forcing the other on the ropes, and each is at the end of his rope".[5] On the second page of the story we are told : "sometimes when they were playful, he would rub her shoulder and she would arch and purr. This time she hissed and almost clawed" (CS, 43). It is clear that marriage moves between these two limits and it is significant that animal imagery is used to describe both the limits. The unnamed he and she universalize the theme.

In "That Tree" the conflict between a man and his puritancial ex-wife parallels and objectifies an inner conflict within the man. After he had painfully rid himself of his boyhood belief in the virtue of work and become a relaxed "failure", he married a puritan whose endless taunts and whose final desertion of him have driven him to work hard and to become a conventional "success" but he despises himself for having done so. Although he can hate his former wife, he cannot condemn her without condemning also "His old fashioned respectable middle-class hard-working American ancestory and training [which] rose up in him and fought on Miriam's side" (CS, 77). Unable to condemn his own background, he is consequently left hating both his ex-wife and himself.

In "The Cracked Looking Glass" Rosaleen is thirty years younger than Dennis & the name heightens the irony because it is derived from Dionysus. The reader's attention is constantly drawn to Dennis's age and to his as well as Rosaleen's awareness of the disparity in their ages. She complains that "a man of his years is no comfort to a woman" (CS, 107) and that her husband's "head is like a stone" (CS, 105). Her complaint that "it wasn't being a wife at all to wrap a man in flannels like a baby and put hot water bottles to him" (CS, 109), indicates that her complaints are basically sexual in nature and she tries to find compensations for it. Mostly she lives in the past because it can be constantly improved upon in memory. She thinks of her girlhood in warm sunshine

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of green Ireland as a great triumph and still longs for men to fight over her youthful good looks coupled with desirability and virtue. In reality she has a farm in Connecticut, an old husband growing senile, her own fading good looks, and neighbours who are suspicious of her behaviour. Her dream world is constantly eroded by the realities of her life and she over-works her fancy to the point of dementedness.

Though the story is primarily told from Rosaleen's point of view, we are also given Dennis's point of view about marriage !

> She had never appreciated him that was it, and neither had his first wife. Whatever he gave them, they always wanted something else. When he was young and poor, his first wife wanted money. And when he was a steady man with money in the bank, his second wife wanted a young man full of life (CS, 105).

The reader appreciates Miss Porters wryly sympathetic characterization of Dennis. For all his grumbling, he emerges as a remarkably tolerant, understanding, and prudent man. Dennis's routinely indifferent assurance that the old, cracked looking glass is good enough is richly ironic. Rosaleen 'forgets' to buy a new looking glass. She has put up with it because as long as she has a flawed mirror, she can imagine herself as beautiful as she pleases. But it is doubtful now that she will ever again be able to deceive herself with it. In consciously accepting the cracked mirror, she accepts the realities of her situation. Her journey to reality is not without pain and suffering, though she conceals her hurt and anger in the images of grief and solicitude because she is a proud woman. She muses "....what had become of her life; everyday she had thought that something great was going to happen, and it was all just straying from one terrible disappointment to another" (CS, 134) So the story ends on the same note of despair on the human condition that one finds in many of Miss Porter's other stories.

In "A Day's Work" the viciously puritanical wife has robbed her husband of his pride and his manhood. Her rigid pietism and propriety lead her to forbid him the kind of association he would like to cultivate with men of the world. Mr. Halloran is condemned to be an embittered failure, old before his time, out of work, reduced to cadging drinks and money from petty politicians and day-dreaming of a chance to join them in their shady enterprises. Theirs is an ideally destructive union which brings out the worst in them. Lacey's character is summed up in a single phrase "....she was a woman born to make any man miserable"

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(CS, 390). Her narrow code fans Mr. Halloran's natural laziness. Early in the story Miss Porter draws a picture which persists in the reader's mind : "Mr. Halloran pulled himself out of the chair, clutching the arms and heaving to his feet slowly, looking around as if he hoped to find crutches standing near" (CS, 388). We cannot differentiate the victim from the victimizer. Lacey's moral position is not as simple as it appears to be. As Nance remarks : "Lacey too has her language of self-justification, drawn from her Catholic training and shrunken to phrasaic righteousness by complete evaporation of charity."[6] "A Day's Work" explores not the nature of love but the relationship between accumulated hatred and violence. When her husband throws the flat iron at her and then passes out, Mrs. Halloran knots up a wet towel and beats him mercilessly. This alternation of lethargy and violence is reminiscent of Joyce's *Dubliners*.

Love in Katherine Anne Porter means not fulfilment, but loss and disillusionment even if there are no lazy and old husbands, flighty and nagging wives. "Pale Horse, Pale Rider" is a literal account of death of love in the person of Adam. Adam is the embodiment of ideal masculinity—earthily handsome, strong physically and emotionally sympathetic, easily affectionate, intelligently simple and uncynically realistic. But early in their acquaintance Miranda has a premonition that Adam is destined to die young. At the end of "Old Mortality" Miranda had declared, "she would have no moral bonds that smothered her in love and hatred. She knew now why she had run away to marriage, and she knew that she was going to run away from marriage, and she was not going to stay in any place, with anyone, that threatened to forbid her making her own discoveries that said 'No' to her" (CS, 220). Miranda has decided this because in her world she has never come across such love as would justify even the slightest sacrifice, and having reached this impasse she has put herself in a situation from which she can hardly hope to find any meaningful human relations. The young Miranda declared that she would continue to "....hate loving and being loved" (CS, 221).

Miranda having been frustrated on successive planes of experience is dubious of that "ecstatic reciprocal cannibalism" (CE, 188), love and "Pale Horse, Pale Rider" is concerned with the tension between her instincts and her cautioning knowledge. Living a lonely life as an ill-paid drama critic, she meets Adam—the ideal man. With characteristic perception Miranda understands " . . . that there was nothing at all ahead

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for Adam and her" (CS, 291). She suffers an internal division : her instincts impel her towards love; her painfully gained knowledge causes her to recoil from it. The self-absorption of the young couple at another table, contrasts with Miranda's inability to lose herself fully in a relationship, and her envy of the girl indicates her need for such a total absorption. Until the very moment when Miranda, infected with influenze, loses consciousness in Adam's arms, they are unable even to acknowledge their love. Only when the "heavy soft darkness" of near-unconsciousness is upon her can she say, "I love you, and I was hoping you would say that to me, too"; and before she passes into a coma, she hears Adam say, "What do you think I have been trying to tell you all this time ?" (CS, 304).

Increasingly "Pale Horse, Pale Rider" is revealed to us as a story of death and not of love. "Pale Horse, Pale Rider . . . done taken my lover away !" (CS, 303). Miranda is pursued by the pale rider, "that lank greenish stranger" (CS, 269), but she is also herself the pale rider on Graylie, the pale horse, since she carries the seeds of death within her. Adam– the symbolic first man dies. Miranda like Eve is the agent of evil—the carrier of the infection which kills him. At the end, Miranda, the "one singer" remains to mourn the death. Miranda and Adam cannot 'save' each other, caught up as they are in the human situation created by the epidemic and the war. Adam dies and Miranda is condemned to the death-in-life—"the dead cold light of tomorrow" (CS, 317).

Love-motif is important in *Ship of Fools*, but love here is a "booby trap".[7] There are couples and couples who bring out the lovelessness of human beings. There is the shrill love-affair of Herr Rieber and Fraulein. Lizzi Spockenkieker, and the yearnings for affection of 'love-lorn' Elsa. There are the unilateral sexual needs of Arne Hansen, William Denny and Johann; the sexual feverishness of the Cuban students, and the animal passions of the Spanish dancing group. In fact the love of almost all the couples is described in terms of animal imagery—bat, cat, frog, goat, pig, peahen and monkey. Less savage and less sensuous than the Spanish group, Katherine Anne Porter nevertheless does not find these affairs sufficiently 'human'. The reader is like Alice in the looking glass garden, everywhere the same theme is stressed. Mutual unkindness of lovers, is what is common to all of them. Adam, the unfallen, of "Pale Horse, Pale Rider" is gone, dead, and with that is

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dead any possibility of self-less love. Loving only themselves and demanding to be loved selflessly by others, for the fools aboard the *Vera* love is only an egoistic indulgence. Incapable of love, the 'lovers' cannot even hate each other freely and remain in a stupor of indifference with short intervals of what D. H. Lawrence referred to as "mechanical sensuality".[8]

The feckless pair of young lovers David Scott and Jenny Brown do not like each other. Desperately weary of each other, they are repeatedly disloyal, at least in their thoughts, while they have neither the courage nor the sexual energy to be actively unfaithful. Their very reason for being on the ship is symbolic of their relationship : Jenny wanted to go to France, David to Spain and they "compromised on Germany, which neither of them wanted to see" (SF, 38). They constantly blame each other for all their troubles. Their quarrels are frequent and they make up due to fatigue and boredom. About David Scott, Jenny reflects, "....she wanted David to be comfortable, she wished to be easy within herself, and though David seemed coldly to devour everything, yet it was as if he were alone, he would not take her into his confidence, he would give nothing back.... He disliked her friends, and made none of his own....he lived like a wilful prisoner within himself, he would not let the door be unlocked" (SF, 156). Though not totally bound in marriage their relationship has all the boredom and irritation as revealed in the married couples of "Rope" and "That Tree". At one point in their wearisome existence Jenny reflects," ... yet what was this tie between them but marriage, and marriage of the worst sort, with all the restraints and jealousies and burdens but with none of the dignity, none of its warmth and protection, no honest acknowledgement of faith and intention" (SF, 157).

The married couples fare no better. In fact, this belief in the permanence of their relationship gives them no security or grace, only a feeling that they are justified in all cruelties to each other and to their children. The Childless Huttens pour their repressed love into their dog 'beb'e'——the baby. On the occasion of their tenth wedding anniversary all that Frau Baumgartner can say is : "What has it been ? A hell, a little hell on earth from the beginning" (SF, 468). Freytag, who married his wife for 'love' talks of her more as an aesthetic object than as a warm, palpitating human being. When he talks of ideal love (SF, 179), his tone is awkward, listless, almost tired, as if he is trying to convince not Jenny to whom he is talking, but himself. Increasingly Freytag becomes

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less aware of the attractiveness of his marriage and more aware of its burdens. He feels guilty for having married a Jewess. As Jenny notices, he talks of her as one talks of one's dead.

More tender is the love relationship between the ship's doctor and the exiled noble woman. But this 'love-affair' also does not reach any satisfactory conclusion. It is extremely shocking to Dr. Schumann that he . . . a married man, a physician, and a good Catholic . . . is in love with his patient. He gives La Condesa the drugs for which she craves but fails to give her the love which is the real remedy of her malady. He does not admire her (as Captain Thiele) simply for her title. His feelings are deeper than mere pity. He is in love. But he lacks the courage of his passion. After she goes ashore he is in throes of mental agony, " . . . he had taken advantage of her situation as prisoner; he had tormented her with his guilty love and yet had refused her. . . and himself any human joy in it" (SF, 388-89).

Scorn for men is seen in its purest form through the eyes of Mrs. Treadwell. Having secured a divorce from her husband, she obviously would like to make the decree valid for the rest of the human race. A terrible 'ennui' rules at the centre of her emotional being. Her hysterical attack on the helplessly drunken Denny, when she beats his face to a pulp with the sharp heel of her shoe, is only the most superficial physical evidence of the mental cruelty of which she is capable. She is Miss Porter's major spokesman to convey the theme of loveless-ness and man's desperate need to be loved. Looking at the effusive show of manners between Herr and Frau Baumgartner Mrs. Treadwell reflects :—

> What they were saying to each other was only *Love me, love me inspite of all ! Whether or not I love you, whether I am fit to love, whether you are able to love, even if there is no such thing as love, love me !* (SF, 495).

These lines (The only lines to appear in italics in her fiction), perhaps trace the "logic of this majestic and terrible failure" to its basic source. Katherine Anne Porter does believe in the power of love, not in the mass, not between nations but between one person and another. Its paucity in the closest of human relations underlines that something is very rotten in the foundation of human condition. In the extreme severity of her presentation, perhaps also lie the seeds of a Utopia.

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A NOTE ON SOCIAL HISTORY & CHARACTERIZATION IN JOHN O'HARA

Vijaya Lakshmi

The famous author of *Appointment in Samarra, Ten North Frederick*, 374 short stories and 10 other successful novels, John Henry O'Hara (1905—1970) has traversed through a wide range of human psychology to varying degrees of violence, selfishness, pride, ruthlessness and decency. O'Hara excels in writing dialogues, through which he proceeds to build a strong background for characterization. But he is more popularly acclaimed as a social historian who successfully described how twentieth century Americans were driven by money, sex and struggle for status often to their own destruction. In his long illustrious literary journey from *Appointment in Samarra* (1934), to the *Ewings* (1972), he occupies a distinct place for the craftmanship of description and the art of characterization. How the details bring out a character, is evident in his own analysis of the techniques of fiction;

> The significant detail that makes for full character development is not to be found in the kind of flowers and china and fabrics, a woman shows to her friends. The novelist's privilege, and in my opinion his duty is to tell all he has to even when it means dispensing with the pretty reticences that his character may affect or that he himself may have.[1]

John O'Hara's realistic portrayal of the character of American social life is, perhaps the most striking feature of his compendious body of fiction. Few writers of the twentieth century since Drieser have documented as massively and as statistically as O'Hara. Unlike Fitzgerald, who tried to capture the precise sense of 'how it felt', subjectively at a given moment, O'Hara's method in writing about what he called, "the most interesting subject in the world the human being"[2] was almost wholly objective.

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Every writer has two points of view about the society in which he lives : that of a citizen and that of an artist. The latter is concerned only with the suitability of society as material for his art.[3] About O'Hara two labels have very commonly been used : the first one being that of a social historian and the second one about him writing *'roman a clef'*. About his being called a social historian, he himself said :

> The United States in this century is what I know, the twenties, thirties and forties are already history but I cannot be content to leave their story in the hands of the historians and the editors of picture books. I went to record the way people talked, and thought and felt and to do it with complete honesty and variety.[4]

He maintained this ideal without fail though the fear of being labelled a social historian led him to issue a warning :

> To my way of thinking, the social history that appears in a noval is of importance, if it is that kind of novel, but only a secondary importance when a novel's social history content begins to takeover, the author is in trouble. If the social history part does not relate to his character, the author is converting himself into a historian or journalist's[5]

John O'Hara is clearly a novelist of manners, one who has written novels in which, "Manners, Social customs, folkways, conventions, traditions and mores of a given social group at a given time and place play a dominant role in the lives of fictional characters, exert control over their thought, and constitute a determinant upon their action in which they are engaged."[6] The novelist of manners rejects character as an abstraction. O'Hara held that, "the bloodless profoundities of social philosophers and historians are often due...to the fact that writers forget that they are writing about 'man'. It is perfectly alright to write about 'man', if you want to, but when you do, you cease to write about 'man'.[7]

O'Hara once put forward the view that real men are distinguished and defined by the things they surround themselves with. He said, "My characters have two patterns. One is superficial; clothes, schools, positions, jobs. The other is psychological".[8] O'Hara beings with a carefully detailed description of a house or what can be seen from it in *Elizabeth Appelton*, *Ten North Frederick* and *Ourselves to know*, or in *The Lackwood Concern* with the motivations that have gone into the building

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of a house. His interest in the established rich like the 'Chapins', 'Tates' 'Eatons', or the 'Englishes' is, because they offer opportunities for discovering the private hells that exist beneath conventional behaviour. Arthur Mizener observes that Julian English is intended to represent, "the true American gentleman; refined, aware, instinctively gallant, whose bad behaviour is a result of his sensitive nature's being driven beyond restraint by the crudeness of the people around him".[9] But unlike 'Jee Chapin'[10], he is excluded from the class of real O'Hara gentleman by throwing a drink in Harry Reilly's face.

O'Hara's characters are bound to have a positive sexual personality, especially the women. In his world, sex is the one area of a man's life in which one can achieve a certain individuality of expression. Every thing else belonging to a person comes from the environment and returns to it bit by bit throughout the years. He held, "We have no privacy, no inner life, no unique irreducible qualities, no mystery. Except that is, in the bedroom the domain of the unpredictable 'the individual'."[11]

His portraits of the social process show men and women driven by ungovernable desires; greed, lust, ambition, and savage-egotism. By giving extensive flashbacks of the sexual experience of his characters, he means to explain their conduct in their social relations.

An expert in the art of tracing behaviour, O'Hara has accurately portrayed 'class-hatred' in his novels. The classes are not rigidly separated. As with the 'Christiana Street Gang', there is enough interaction to permit the desire for social mobility that aggravates class-hatred. There is a good deal of ridicule of minorities like the Italians, Poles, and the Jews. So the combined opposition of the minorities against the dominant one can be viewed as one part of the philosophy of hatred, while another way of defining it may be, that of the struggle between the rich and the poor. The perfect motto for the whole 'Lantenengo Country' series is given by 'Al Grecco'. In the *Appointment in Samarra* as he drives down the Lantenengo Street, he rolls down his window and yells out at the darkened houses, "Merry Christmas, you stuckup bastards. Merry Christmas from Al Grecco".[12]

Needless to say O'Hara is one of the finest social novelists, and the details provided by him are all meaningful. However, his fear of being typed and his obvious uneasiness led him to state at Rider College, "I am not a social historian, I am a novelist and social historian incidentally."[13] Nonetheless, the accuracy of details and artful characterization

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leads one to believe that the writers of history of the twentieth century in the United States would not be able to ignore O'Hara, in their pursuits.

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LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO CULTURAL ANALYSIS

(w. s. r. Budhist Culture in the Himalayas)

D. D. Sharma

It is of general knowledge that every cultural activity, major or minor, has a definite linguistic term to denote it. Etymologically they are composed in such a way that they serve as an epitome of the form and the function of the cultural element or object for which they stand, The language on account of its conservative character preserves and transmits them faithfully from one generation to another generation. As such it is the most trustworthy repository of the cultural heritage of the speech community concerned.

According to Trench, R. C. (1979 : 81) language is a moral barometer, which indicates and permanently marks the rise and fall of a nation's life. To study a people's language will be to study them, and to study them at best advantage, there where they present themselves to us under fewest disguises, most nearly as they are. There are many social customs, rites and rituals which otherwise have become a thing of the past, but are still traceable through their linguistic terms. But before coming to the problem in hand, it may not be inappropriate to say something about the basic nature of culture and language in general. This would not only give us an insight about these two fundamental components of our social life, but also will equip us better to appreciate the analysis in question.

Culture, though in itself is something abstract, yet its manifestation is, mostly, through something visual and concrete, e.g. art, architecture, paintings or religious performances. It is, like language, a socially acquired knowledge. In both the cases the acquisition of this knowledge is either by direct instruction or by watching the behaviour of other members of the community concerned. Cultural heritage is in many ways distinct from biological heritage. In a given society, in order to be acceptable to its other members one has to operate within the

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traditionally established social norms. Thus 'culture is a kind of knowledge which we learn from other people.' (Hudson, R. A. 1981 : 81), and language becomes a potent vehicle to preserve as well as to transmit the cultural knowledge to the members of the speech community.

Further, it has been recognized that there is an intricate relation ship between the language and the culture of any given society which can be decoded by socio-linguistic or anthropolinguistic approach to it. Because culture consists of cultivated ways of human behaviour and the internal patterns of it are couched in linguistic terms, largely manifested through various terminological and non-terminological expressions of it. No doubt "speach has relatively high autonomy, but culture could probably not originate without language and language could be nearly empty without culture". Writing about the interdependence of these two important components of human society Bright states :—

"Language and culture are not acquired by the children of a society as two separate things, the interdependence of language and culture in most human activities means that each serves as the vehicle in which the other is learned. This in turn implies that the structure of one system will be apprehended, at least partly, in terms of structure of the other system. And since language is the medium through which so much of the culture is explicitly learned, we cannot be surprised if we find that the structural organization of language is reflected in cultural patterns" (Bright, W. 1976 : 14-15). Any language composed of articulated sound has its relevance in a social context only. It is so intricately interwoven in the texture of society that one cannot think of a society without a language and of a language without a society. The two are quite inseparable and co-existent. To understand one the understanding of the other is a sino-qua-non. Any change in one is bound to bring a consequent change in the other.

A language, besides performing its normal functions of verbal or written communication, also serves as a means of communicating the socio-cultural aspects and historical information of its speakers. It being the principle vehicle of social communication its socio-cultural oriented study is a very reliable source of knowledge of the past and present, socio-cultural setting of the speech community concerned. Besides, it has also been noticed that not infrequently, such a linguistic information is a perfectly trustworthy evidence to determine the earlier history of the speakers of the language who otherwise have no record, whatsoever, of their

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past. A language based socio-cultural study, sometimes also provides clues even of the people who otherwise have totally disappeared from a particular region, e.g. Austro-Asiatic elements in the languages of Lahul and Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh.

Gray, Louis, H. (1958 : 10) observes—"just as the palaeontologist reconstructs the extinct beasts and birds, fishes and reptiles, which roamed the earth in pre-historic periods, often having but a few fragments of bones or scanty fossils to guide him; and just as the geologist can determine the earlier configuration of the world from evidence which to the untrained mind is meaningless, so the linguist can trace the history of man's long and toilsome development in thought. He is the mental archaeologist who deals with actual objects once used by man; and often, through the knowledge of the meanings of words, he can make valuable contributions towards the restoration and reconstruction of periods anterior to those from which material remains survive."

Words that have come down to us from older stocks have much to convey to us about the life of the community which used them. Trench, R. C. (1979 : 82) is perfectly right when he states—"often a people's use of some single word will afford us a deeper insight into their real condition, their habits of thought and feeling, than whole volumes written expressly with an intention of imparting this insight." Study of various terms and modes of address and greetings or of kinship terms is an important source to understand the socio-cultural ethos of the speech community concerned. For instance, prevalence of identical kin terms for maternal uncle, father's sister's husband and father-in-law (e.g. *azang* in Bunan, Tod, Spiti, Pooh, Namgya etc.) and for the maternal aunt, father's sister and mother-in-law (e.g. *ane* in all the dialects of Lahul, Spiti and Upper Kinnaur) is a pointer to the cultural facet of these Himalayan regions in which cross-cousin marriage is or was a socially sanctioned system. In Bhutanese too, we notice that on account of 'preferential marriageables' of cross cousins, the uncles and aunts from both sides are addressed as *azang* and *nene* (i.e. MB & FSH *azang* and MBW & FS. *nene*) which are the address terms for father-in-law and mother-in-law respectively. Further, the mode of address as sister and brother between the father of the boy and the mother of the girl and vice-versa confirms the prevalence of this system in these regions.

Similarly, in the above noted groups of languages a common term, viz. *sagpo* both for wife's younger brother, and younger sister's husband

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is an indicator of the existence or prevalence of exchange marriage system among these speech communities.

The prevalence of two terms for 'father-in-law's house' in Kinnauri (i.e. it is *dures* with reference to the male and *gaurchang* with reference to a female), is an indicator of the peculiar marriage custom according to which the bride goes to groom's with a marriage party to marry the groom.

The peculiar marriage custom of Bhutanese, according to which the father of the boy leaves him with the parents of the girl for a specific period, nearly for three years, has given rise to two different sets of reference to the parents of the boy and the girl. While at his in-laws the boy refers the parent and the elder brother of the girl as *nizange phama* 'our parents', *phama* being a cover term for parents, but the girl while referring to the parents of the boys says—*wici phama* (your parents). This indicates that in this culture the parents of the girl hold a superior position than the parents of the boy.

It may further be noted that the linguistic behaviour of a speech community is an index to its socio-cultural life, because, it is, basically conditioned by the social conditions in which the community was nourished or is living. For instance, in a speech community favouring joint family system, as in most of the Indian communities, there are distinctive terms available for father's elder and younger brothers, for, such a distinction was a necessity of day-to-day linguistic communication, but the same was not so necessary with regard to mother's brothers. Consequently, there is only one term for all of the maternal uncles irrespective of their age vis-a-vis the age of the Ego's mother. On the other hand, in a polyandrous society there is a complete absence of terms for uncles, younger or elder, although there are as many terms for fathers as is the number of the members of the polyandrous union in question. For instance, in Lahauli (*Gahri*) the terms for fathers could be *awa* (real or assigned father), *tyawa* (father elder to *awa*), *bawa* (father immediately younger to *awa*), *bara* (father younger to *bawa*), *phechawa* (father younger to *bara*), *acha* (father younger to *phece*), *awa-kyugce* (father youngest of all), *au* (that person of paternal group who does not join the polyandrous union and embraces the Budhist monastic order).

A socio-linguistic analysis of euphemistic expressions and linguistic taboos also is a potent source to understand the various aspects of the

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cultural setting of a given speech community. The former are a pointer to the ethical or moral outlook of its members towards certain objects and acts, and the latter have the potentiality of unfolding the mysteries of the superstitions and beliefs that the speech community has nourished or inherited.

In this regard an equally important but still unexplored linguistic area is the analysis of social codes termed as pejoration or swear-words. These terms contain, in a very subtle form, the deep rooted socio-cultural traits and practices of the speech community concerned. For instance, swearing by trinity of gods, *konchok* sum or by *Devagyachho* by the Budhists of Lahul is a clear indicative of their association with the Budhist culture of the region.

Now coming to the real problem of the Budhist culture in the Himalayas it may be pointed out that though Budhism as a religious discipline has its specific dimensions with regard to metaphysical considerations and religious practices, yet the same is not true of the cultural traits of its followers. As we have already pointed out that culture is a socially acquired knowledge and social systems are the resultants of the various ecological and historical forces that were operative in regions in which the given social group lived and flourished. As such the cultural elements of every social group are bound to be different from one another in a higher or lower degree.

The history of the spread of Budhism tells us that in its outward journey it was embraced by people belonging to different racial and social groups and climatic conditions, already having their respective socio-cultural bases. Under the circumstances the cultural milieu of all the followers of the Budha could not be uniform. The uniformity, of course, could be at the level of religious practices, art and sculpture, though there too, the geographical impact on these patterns cannot be overlooked. The local cultural variations are observable both in their visual forms and abstract concepts. Here in this paper we shall confine ourselves to the linguistic manifestation of the Buddhist culture in the central Himalayan region. In the foregoing pages we have already discussed the relationship between language and culture, and also have pointed out how a socio-linguistic analysis can help us in understanding the cultural ethos of a given speech community. Now, we shall briefly present our thesis as under :—

Linguistic Variables and Social Stratification

Normally, it is believed that a speech community occupying a parti-

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cular portion of the territory follows a single code in its linguistic communication, mutually intelligible to all of its members. But socio-linguistic studies have brought to light that even within a speech community there are many social or professional groups which distinguish themselves from other groups in respect of their distinctive speech behaviour.

A peculiar example of social distinctions being reflected through linguistic distinctions is attested in a number of Tibeto-Himalayan speech communities of the Himalayan region, Ladakhi including.

It is of common knowledge that Budhism in general recognizes no caste or other racial distinction at a social level. In the eyes of *Kunjuk* (God) all human beings are equal. But the existence of various linguistic terms for the various sections of Ladakhi society, such as *Rigzang* (Upper Class), *Mangrika* (Middle Class) and *Rignan* (Lower Class) indicates that in the social structure of the Budhist of Ladakh differentiation is made among various sections of it on the basis of their occupational considerations. Socio-linguistically the constituents of the term *Rigzang* are the *Gyalpo* (king), *Kushuk* (Chief Lama), *Klon* and *Lanpo* (officials); *Mangrika* includes *Lama* (priest), *Unpo* (astrologer), *Larje* (physician) and *Thakshos* (common gentry); the last class, viz. *Rignan* includes *Beda* (piper), *Mon* (drummer), *Garra* (blacksmith), *Shingkhan* (carpenter), *Lamkhan* (cobbler) and *Malakhwan* (dancing girls and prostitutes).

Moreover, the perfect dichotomy of honorific and non-honorific codes with regard to these people in a normal linguistic communication also conforms that there exists a kind of social stratification there. In this case, the linguistic diversity, correlated with the social identity of the speaker and/or the person addressed or mentioned to has developed to such a high degree that one requires entirely different sets of linguistic codes to communicate with interlocutors belonging to different strata of the society. In this social structure a speaker to maintain social propriety of linguistic communication, has to acquire perfect control over 'linguistic competence', as well as 'communicative competence' of all the forms of the language. There each form has its own contexts and corresponding sets of nominal pronominal and verbal stems meant to be used in an ordinary and honorific forms of speech. The former variety is used to address a person belonging to lower and inferior status than the addresser or by a speaker belonging to a lower social stratum, while

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communicating with speakers of his own status. (Besides, a speaker while speaking of himself also resorts to this form of speech). But the latter form, viz. Honorific is used only while communicating with or referring to a person belonging to a higher stratum of society. For instance, the ordinary code of the linguistic expression meaning 'He eats rice and meat' would be : *Kho ḍras dang sha zeruk*, but the honorific form would be—*khong zinḍe dang sums donduk*. Similarly, 'you will go' would be rendered as—*khyadang chain* (ord.) : *Khyorang Phepsin* (Hon.).

Moreover, in many cases, there may be three to four sets of linguistic terms to indicate the relative superiority of the person in question. Out of these one is reserved for a person having lower social status than the speaker and the others for persons having higher social status than the speaker, each indicating the relative degree of respect or politeness. This phenomenon of Ladakhi speech behaviour can be illustrated by the various forms for the polite command 'to come', rendered as *yong* (Non-hon.), *skyot* (Hon.), *Skyodazad* (super hon), *phepsazadsad* (Hyper hon.) etc.

The linguistic dichotomy of honorific vs. non-honorific, in a more or less degree, is attested in all the dialects of the Himalayan region. For example, in Bhutanese the sentences "where are you going" ? Would be rendered as "*wed/menakpo au galop yo* ? (Non.-hon.) and *Lopen/ḍaso/lonpo/Gɛbo au jonlop yo ?* (Hon.), and 'he is eating' " as '*Khid to zuta* (Non.-hon.) and *lopen/ḍaso/lonpo so sheta*.

Similarly, an analysis of terms of address in Bhutanese reveals that there are as many as five terms showing social hierarchy in that system, and the use of them in their respective context is obligatory for every speaker. According to their socio-linguistic etiquette the term of address for an ordinary person is *menakpo*, for a socially respectable person *lopen*, for a high official—*ḍaso*, for a minister *lonpo*, for royal personage *gebo*. The same is the position in the monastic order as well.

There are a host of terms which form the part of the cultural vocabulary of these languages and are potent enough to reveal the cultural facets of the speech community concerned. But here we shall confine ourselves to a few only. There is a practice among Lahulas termed as *michhabs* (lit. exchange of human being) in Gahri and *pongdak* (cremation of the dweller of the ground floor). It is observed to secure the life of a dying person by substituting his/her person with a goat or an effigy. The simple folk mind believes that the God of Death (*Shinje*) can be deceived in the same way as a simpleton human being.

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When all the other means of treatment of a sickman are exhausted and he is on the verge of death, then a '*lama*' prepares an effigy of the dying person, attires it as a male or female as the case may be. Then after performing a ritual it is taken as in funeral procession along with lama musical instruments to a cross road (*Sumda*) during night. There while consigning the dummy to flames a man cries loudly that 'so and so' (naming the sick person) had died nine years ago. After that they return home with a trust that the death has been averted and the sick will be alright.

In Pattan, however, the dummy is placed in a black cloth and is tied to the back of a goat and both of them wrapped in a black blanket are carried on a bier to the cremation ground and the rest follows as in the case of *michhabs*. There are many more such terms which tell us in definite terms about the cultural practices of the people of this region.

Another linguistic term related to a post-death ritual is *lamston* 'to show the path'. Among Bodhis of the Himalayan region the dead body of a person is not cremated immediately. It is kept for three to seven days, depending on the status of the deceased. The corpse is kept in a sitting posture in a room with the soles touching the ground. During this period the *lamas* read the scriptures by the side of the dead. This ritual is known as *lamston*.

An equally important and related to post-death rituals of the cultural life of the Bodhis of this region is the ritual termed as *yang-khuk*. Etymologically, *yang* means 'good luck' and *khuk* means 'calling forth'. Its object is to retain the prosperity which otherwise may go with the out going soul. i.e *shri* of the house. It is performed by a *lama* at the time of the departure of a bride from her father's house or at the time of the departure of a soul from a house, i.e. when the dead body of a person is taken out for funeral. In Ladakh it is performed on the former occasion, whereas in Lahul on the latter occasion. The term '*phowa*,' which belongs to post death ceremony, also is an important term of the Budhist culture of these regions. Similar is the case of '*Tambargya*' and other rituals performed in the name of a dead person. There is a term *Rik-sum-gombo* (Trinty of Lords) universally used by the Budhist of the Himalayan region. It stands for the trinity of Budhist pantheon, viz. Arya Manjushri, Arya Avalokiteshvara and Arya Vajrapani. According to the tradition the figures of this trinity representing yellow, white and blue colours respectively, are either made of clay, or

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carved on stone or wood, or are drawn, on paper and put on door heads to ward off the entrance of various evil spirits passing that way. In Kinnaur, however, *Rik-Sum-gombos* are erected, like an entrance gate, at the entrance of the village and every incoming person has to pass through it, so that no evil spirit accompanying him enters the village.

Similarly, there are a number of terms in Ladakhi and other dialects which are indicative of various cultural traditions followed by the inhabitants of these regions. One of such terms is *Tsha-Khang* standing for a particular type of structure raised to house the images and a little medallion figure of a Lama, made of a little portion of his ashes mixed with clay. It can be compared with the tradition of *pratimagriha* (image room) of the kings of the solar dynasty, as referred to by the poet Bhassa in his play the Pratima Nataka. Like the *Tsha-Khang*, erection of a *Dung-tan* in the memory of adead person is another form of the cultural tradition of the Budhists of the Western Himalayas. It is a kind of *Chhorten* and is a repository of the relics of an honoured person such as a Lama, a king or a person of great importance. In case of a Lama the relic could be his body as well, but in other cases it is their ashes only.

Besides the eight types of *chhortens*, representing various aspects of religio-cultural life of the people of Ladakh and Tibet, and also having their own architectural peculiarities, there is a ninth type of it as well, which represents a somewhat secular type of it. Technically, it is termed as *Endum Chhorten*. The literal meaning of which is *En* 'discord' + *dum* 'binding/bringing together', thereby conveying the meaning 'an accord'. According to cultural traditions of Budhism in this part of the country, such a *chhorten* is erected to commemorate the event of an accord between two disputing Bhikshu Sanghas of Buddhism. Structurally, it differs from the other eight types which are so common in these lands.

The cultural vocabulary of Ladakhi has another interesting term called *mesol*. It is a ritual performed at the time of *Losar* as an integral part of it. According to the celebrations of *Losar* which start from the first day of the eleventh month of the Tibetan calendar "*Lhato*, the seat of family deity, is replaced daily with a new one called *Lhasol*. Immediately after the *Lhasol* a male member goes to the family cemetery with a big semi-circular cake of flour. He lights up a lamp on the grave and places thereon small pieces of cake, meat and other eatables. He then loudly calls the names of the deceased members of the family invoking them to take the meal. Having completed it he joins a festive

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gathering where *Chhang* and cakes are served' (Abdul Ghani, Shaikh, 1978 : 54).

There are many verbal and non-verbal gestures which are an integral part of Ladakhi culture, one of such gestures is presentation of a *Khatak*, a silken scarf, to an honoured guest on his visit or on paying a visit to him which is considered to be an exhibition of the highest respect to the person concerned. It is also offered to deities on a visit to their temples. There a *Khatak* must accompany all offerings or presentations, otherwise the present will have no value. We may say that it is like presenting a flower wreath to an honoured guest or a deity in Indian plains. (Interestingly there is no word for 'flower garland' in these dialects). The climatic conditions in which growing of flower is not an easy job seem to have compelled the inhabitants of these regions for this substitution. *Thangka* is another important item of the Budhistic culture of Tibet and adjoining lands. They are highly artistic religious paintings and form an indispensable part of religion, art and culture. The subject matter and designs of these paintings are varied and require a special technique and skill. Every important Gonpa in Ladakh, Lahul, Spiti and Kinnaur has its own stock of *Thangkas* forming the valuable treasures of art and culture of the Budhists of these regions.

It would be interesting here to make a mention of a couple of terms which form the part of the cultural vocabulary of Ladakhi and Spiti-dialects of this region. These are *Khang Chhen* (lit. big house) and *Khang Chhung* lit. small house). The currency of these two terms for 'house' is an indicative of the prevalence of the cultural trait, known as primogeniture system, according to which the eldest son alone inherits the ancestral property. There the aged parents voluntarily give up their right on the ancestral property, as soon as the eldest son is married, and retire to a nearby small house to live in, leaving the ancestral big house (*Khang chhen*) for the eldest son who now becomes the sole legal owner of the ancestral property. Other sons and daughters either entirely become dependent on their elder brother or retire to the *Gonpas*, to embrace the monastic order.

That the practice of polyandrous marriage which was banned by law in Ladakh (vide, Budhists' Polyandrous Marriages' Prohibition Act, 1941) and is breathing its last in other regions, was once a sacrosanct social custom in these regions can be positively inferred, in some cases, from the currency of certain kin terms and in others, from the absence

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of them. For instance, there are two terms for a wife in Lahuli, viz. *byanmo* and *digsag* i.e. She is *byanmo* with reference to her real husband who is invariably the eldest brother, but is referred to as *digsag* with reference to her other husbands of the polyandrous union in question. Moreover, a referenee has already been made in the foregoing pages about the currency of a number of terms for the various grades of fathers in Lahuli, which the polyandrous system has given to it.

Besides, the currency of various terms of cultural vocabulary, the absence of many terms which form the part of cultural vocabulary in other systems is also a pointer to a particular type of socio-cultural set up of the people concerned. For instance, in many linguistic communities belonging to Tibeto-Himalayan group there is a complete absence of kin terms for uncles (father's younger and elder brothers), aunts (father's younger and elder brothers' wives), brothers-in-law (husband's younger and elder brothers), sister-in-law (husband's younger and elder brothers' wives), collateral nephews and nieces, sisters-in-law (younger and elder brothers' wives) etc. which is again a strong evidence that these speech communities once practised polyandry, hence there is the absence of these terms. The absence of the term for a 'widow' also is an indicator of this practice among these people.

Besides polyandry, in the Tibet of bygone days, there existed a system according to which a woman, with the concurrence of her formerly wedded husband or husbands could have marital relations with a person who was termed as *phursak*, the two younger brothers of the eldest brother, who was the real husband of the lady, were also termed as *phursak*. (B. P. Sharma, 1978 : 46).

Similarly, there is a term *digsak* for 'wife' among the Budhists of the Himalayan region. A literary meaning of this word is 'a bundle of sins' (*digsa* 'sin', +*sagpa* 'a collection or bundle') which is indicative enough that in this culture a woman was not esteemed highly. This seems to be an influence of some other non-Budhist cultures, for, according to the spirit of the *Mahamangalasutra* a woman occupies an honourable place in the Budhist society.

There are many other linguistic terms which are self explanatory of the cultural aspects for which they stand. For instance, in the dialects of Lahul the terms for 'divorce' are—*kudpa chadche* (Tod), *chhud thwagchi* (Pattani), *bichi pragcha* (Gahri). The lexical meaning of all these terms is 'to break a thread' which is indicative of the procedure

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normally followed to materialise a divorce. According to the local custom, a thread is tied to the small fingers of the husband and wife and is snapped away in the presence of the elders of the village, symbolising the breaking away of the marriage contract.

In Kinnaur, however, a straw or a piece of a twig is broken instead a thread, to symbolise the dissolution of the marriage contract. Consequently, it is termed as *shing-tak-shimig* or '*shing-tag-tag*, both meaning 'breaking of a twig'. In Lahul, however, the act of breaking of a straw (*shingche thakcha*) is related to making a promise or affirming a contract between two parties.

In the Pattan valley of Lahul there is a peculiar custom known as *Shyasum*. According to it a live sheep or goat is thrown down from the roof of the bridegroom's house when the marriage party arrives back there, along with the bride. There is a scamble among the members of the party to rip open its stomach and eat its liver and heart. It is believed that this ensures good luck for the later as well as for the newly wedded couple when eaten raw. This custom is found among Khasas of Jaunsar-Bawar as well (cf. Majumdar, D. N. 1963 : 253).

Our dress, food habits and ornaments also are an integral part of our cultural life. Even a simple study of the terms standing for these objects is enough to present to us a vivid picture of this aspect of the cultural life of the speech community in question. For instance, we may take the Ladakhi term *parak* which is a sort of ornament related to the marriage customs of the land. It is an indispensable item of the marriage ceremony of the Bodhis of this region. Similar to that of the 'mangalasutra' among the Hindus. There no woman is supposed to marry until she is provided with a *parak* which is made of leather, sometimes covered with silk and is in the shape of a cobrahood, and is worn on the head.

In Lahuli, an equally important term related to marriage custom is '*Nya*' 'a token'. Under the system of *Kunmaibagston* or *Kuja bya* 'marriage by elopment', the young lovers, when their love has made a fair advancement, present a ring or any other articles to their beloveds to have their consent for the marriage. In case she accepts the *Nya* she becomes a lawful fiancee of the boy. Now, no one else can have any love affair with her. If the girl at a later stage changes her mind and is inclined to marry some one else, she, before establishing any contact with the intended boy, returns the *Nya* taken from her former fiance. It is a moral and social obligation which she must honour.

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As in other spheres of cultural life in the field of art-architecture, especially of temple architecture, sculpture or iconography, mural painting or scroll paintings, liturgy and spiritual performances, too, there are hundreds of technical and non-technical terms which when analysed linguistically throw a flood of light on their contemporary religio-cultural practices in their territorial settings. Besides, a textuo-linguistic analysis of such terms occurring in ancient and medievel texts of the Buddhist literature can be successfully exploited to draw a trustworthy picture of these objects of religio-cultural life in the given period of history. Moreover a contextual analysis of these terms can also help us in assessing the relevance and impact of art and sculpture in the Buddhist religion in the past. Various technical terms relating to various structures of Gonpas and *Chhortens*, forms and postures of icons of various deities of the Budhistic pantheon, size, form and colours of scroll paintings (*Thangkas* and *mandalas*) when studied in their respective contexts are sure to yield quite faithful result of these aspects of the Buddhist culture in the past and the present. For instance, a structural analysis of the elements denoted by the terms *zhi*, *gya*, *wang*, *tak* etc. in the preparation of a *mandala* can give us an inside into the spirituo-cultural aspects of these formations in spiritual performances in Buddhism. The eight terms standing for eight types of *Chhortens* in the Tibetan and Ladakhi tradition are indicative enough of their structural peculiarities as well.

Conclusion :

The few examples of the cultural vocabulary of the Bodhis of the Himalayan region, as explained above, are enough to draw the attention of scholars to explore this source of the cultural study of the tribes living in the interiors of these regions.

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SECTION-II

Psychology & Philosophy

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ALIENATION : A SURVEY OF ITS PSYCHOLOGICAL CORRELATES

Jitendra Mohan & Joginder

'Alienation' is the major modern malady and presents a recurrent crisis in the human life owing to maladjustment and discontent with the rapidly changing society (Sharma, 1976). The materialistic and capitalistic society of today imposes such a stress and strain on an individual that he becomes bewildered, lost and uprooted. So, in an endeavour to have a grip over the life forces and maintain his name and fame in world he ultimatately loses his identity and becomes alienated from himself as well as the society. He starts leading a mechanized life deprived of human values, emotions and feelings, and thus becomes a mere cog in the wheel. This lack of understanding of life around him and his exact role in it generates a sense of resentment and frustration in him. This leads to psychological maladjustments thereby widening the gap between his mental faculties, and creative and productive potential. Again, if the individual fails to strike a balance between his personal and functional qualities, i.e., if his job and service does not offer a proper channel to exhibit his latent talents, dissatisfaction creeps in and ultimately he becomes alienated from his official life and in extreme cases from himself also. An alienated individual has a tendency to indulge in his own fanciful world resenting and rejecting the norms and traditions of the society. Thus, he may give way to his unbridled desires thereby disrupting the harmonious relationship between himself and the society. This way he becomes estranged from the outside world. This concept of 'Alienation' is supported by many eminent educationists and psychologists like Seeman (1959), Dean (1961), Marx (1961) and Fromme (1963).

Alienation is an experience, which has become more and more a fact of life in these days of modernization and urbanization.

Seeman and Melvin (1967) tried to codify the meaning of alienation as an experience of powerlessness, normlessness, rootlessness and the drift in values.

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Sometimes, these form the common ground for protest and rebellion against the establishment. Other features include disrespect to elders for their conservatism and apathy towards reform, reactions to government policy on international treaties and alignments; and psychological maladjustment of political ideologies. Last, but not the least, is the impact of corrupt leadership, lack of character at national level to emulate, and the cry for power. All these and many more factors may be generating a sense of alienation.

Hajda (1961) contented that people who do not fit in with the dominant values and expectations of their social group are often labelled as alienated.

Alienation refers to certain perceptions and feelings such as feeling of separation from one self etc. that some people have about themselves and about one or more aspects of their social environment, as these two (self and environment) relate to one another. Thus, the alienated man is any person drifting in a world that has little meaning for him, and over which he exercises little power, a stranger to himself and to others.

Alientation, a hallmark of the modern age has been described as : loss of self, anxiety state, anomie, depersonalization, revoltlessness, apathy, social disorganisation, loneliness, automization, powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, pessimism and the loss of belief or values (Josephson, 1962). Alienation can be defined as a general psychological, aesthetic or an attitudinal stance. Prednag (1965) described alienation in terms of 'As a man he does not feel himself a part of larger community and as an official being, he does not feel himself to be a man'.

Schimek and Meyer (1975) put forth that concept of Alienation can refer to serious beliefs and attitudes, values, judgement—always reflecting a specific social and ethical frame of reference. He also maintained that it is precisely the unquestioning conformity and adjustment to the demands and dogmas of a social system which is the sign of an individual's alienation from himself and from basic human values. Thus the people who do not fit in with the dominant values and expectations of their social groups cannot maintain meaningful relationships and perceive society in a disorganized state are often labelled as alienated.

Nandy (1973) in his survey of research trends expressed Anomie

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condition as a response to the speed and direction of social change and to the psychological adaptation demanded by this change.

From the above mentioned definitions relating to alienation, one can conclude in a nutshell that alienation is a situation where the framework in which one grows is shattered. This shattering brings about a breakdown of human form, disillusion of coherence and structure. This alienation in one's day to day life is the only basis and source of other alienating forms of the youth.

Causes of Alienation

After understandig meaning of alienation and its components it would be necessary to deal with the main causes underlying alienation. Man is a bio-psycho-social organism. His healthy growth as well as his alienation have individual as well as social or cultural roots. Fromme (1963) described cause of alienation as dehumanizing effects of a modern social system which emphasize mechanization and conformity. Freud (1958) stated that alienation is seen as an unavoidable result of civilization and its discontents. According to Marx (1961), an oppressive economic and political structure produces the sense of estrangement. Thus alienation can be seen as a result of frustration produced by social structure or as a consequence of its anomic qualities, inevitable result of neurotic development, simultaneously it is the most comprehensive attempt at avoiding self-awareness, anxiety, and conflict.

For several people, the family is also an important cause of alienation. Break down of kinship, decline of craft and labour, lack of close bonds between the young and the old, change in the family structure, separation of the work from family life, are some of the important familial causes which throw the individual in unusual stress condition : loneliness and alienated condition. Because of urbanization, joint family collapsed, resulting in the Nuclear family which leads to alienation.

Beside these, increasingly high divorce rate, broken homes, etc., also create conditions to increase alienation. Defective family values, defective patterns, lack of attention of parents or interruption of close motherhood submission, lack of intimate relations of parents and child are also of the important factors leading to alienation conditions. Negligence of parents and high expectations, faulty child rearing practices, residential mobility are still other causes of alienation. Lack of faith in religion is also causing feeling of alienation in people now a days.

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There is alienation due to occupation. In occupation prestige and position of a person, his status in the occupation, and the satisfaction are important factors creating alienation.

Types of Alienation

Social scientists have attempted analysis of alienation and developed varied models indicating types of alienation.

Michael (1966) had put forth the relationship between two types of alienation—alienation from work and alienation from expressive relations—and two structural properties of organization—centralization and formalization are examined in a comparative study of sixteen welfare organizations. Both alienation from work and alienation from expressive relation are found to be more prominent in highly centralized and highly formalised organizations. Multivariate analysis is introduced to determine the relative importance of the relationships between measures of centralization and formalization and alienation.

Aiken & Hague (1966) in a comparative analysis of organizational alienation discussed the relationship between 2 types of alienation – alienation from work and alienation from expressive relations—and two structural properties of roganizations—centralization and formalization are examined in a comparative study of sixteen welfare organizations. Both alienation from work and alienation from expressive relations are found to be more prominent in highly centralized and highly formalized organizations. Multivariate analysis is introduced to determine the relative importance of the relationships between measures of centralisation and formalization. Alienation scale correlates highly with the Belcher multi-item, general loneliness scale. This is significantly higher than its association with the Belcher anomie scale or alienation scale.

Regarding the Belcher eight factors scores, the UCLA loneliness score is most closely associated with pathological loneliness (r=.75) and estrangement (r=.71). The correlation of the UCLA Scale with the other factors is lower; loneliness anxiety, r = .54; loneliness depression, r=.56; alienation, r=.58; anomie, r=.53, existential loneliness, r=.45; and separateness, r=.37.

Taviss (1969) discussed Social Alienation and Self Alienation resulting from disfunctions between social demands and values and individual needs and inclination are postulated. He added that the various

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social changes that have occurred in Indian society over the last half-century combine to produce a greater looseness or flexibility in society. Society now provides less rigid guidelines to behaviour. Hence the forms of social alienation which involve rejection of society becomes infrequent, when social alienation is experienced, it does not involve withdrawal, but remains a feeling of malice. However, the greater degree of behavioural flexibility becomes a new kind of burden in the mid twentieth century and one which can easily lead to the self manipulatory activities of self alienation.

In Featherman's (1975) paper estimates are presented for a structural equation model of the social structural and personality antecedents of two forms of early career alienation, self estrangement and powerlessness. The major finding is that the two forms of alienation are affected by different patterns of structural and personality antecedents originating at various stages in the first half of the life cycle. The model accounts from small to modest proportions of variance in self and powerlessness and it slightly reduces the co-variation between the two forms of alienation. Alienation is a consequence of inadequate socialization which is precipitated by social and psychological conditions, which either facilitate or impair individual learning.

Schimek and Nayer (1975) had main purpose in their study to examine 'alienated' beliefs and attitudes (using a questionnaire developing Kenistan) in a population of hospitalized psychiatric patients of late adolescent and college age and to compare the responses with those of a sample of 'normal' college students.

Three main factors emerged i.e. interpersonal alienation, self-repudiation and cultural alienation. The present group scored much higher on the first two factors, but cultural alienation did not differentiate any of the groups and seems unrelated to pathology. Clinical data showed that patients high on self repudiation have a greater tendency towards withdrawal and depression, whereas those low on this dimension were characterized by anti-social behaviour. The findings are discussed in relation to the clinical validity of the alienation scale, and the dangers of treating alienation as a unitary dimension.

The other significant aspect of the results is that the items of the questionnaire related to rejection of conventional, social and cultural beliefs seem to be at a different dimension than the self contempt and interpersonal alienation factors and did not differentiate patients from

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education, socio-economic background and changes in the dominant atmosphere and slogans of a specific period.

Classification of Alienation

Different investigators have classified alienation in different categories. For example, Marx (1961) distinguishes four types of alienation :

(i) Alienation from the object produced
(ii) Alienation from the work process
(iii) Alienation from himself, from his own creative potential, and social bond, that define him as human.
(iv) Alienation from his fellow workers and other men in general.

The aforesaid four types are not separate and independent dimensions of alienation, but a complex chain of development. First, a man becomes alienated from the work process itself, then from the object produced. After this, he also alienates himself from the act of production itself. Thus, a man is alienated from his daily work activity, he then becomes alienated from himself, and finally from his fellow workers.

So, the Marxian model can be explained as ;
Alienation from the process.
Alienation from the product.
Alienation from himself.
Alienation from other fellow workers.

Seeman (1959) categorized alienation in five aspects : Powerlessness, Meaninglessness, Normlessness, Isolation, and Self-estrangement and this classification has been widely accepted and the typology has also been used by Middleton (1963).

Hajda (1961) classified alienation into just two broad categories : (1) Rejection of Society; (2) Rejection by Society. He added that the popularity of the concept of alienation is only equalled by its ambiguity. One of the main sources of this ambiguity is that alienation can refer to a person's beliefs, attitudes and value judgement—always reflecting a specific social and ethical frame of reference.

Blauner (1964) used four dimensions of alienation, namely, Powerlessness, Meaninglessness, Isolation and Self-estrangement with particular reference to the blue collar workers.

Kineston (1965) argues that while the concept of alienation in every

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variation suggests the loss or absence of a prevailing or desirable relationship, it requires further specification in at least four aspects, given hereunder :

Focus	..	Alienation from what ?
Replacement	..	What replaces the old relationship ?
Mode	..	How is alienation manifest ?
Agent	..	What is the agent of alienation ?

According to him, individual alienation can be classified along the following three lines :—

On the basis of attitude	..	Alienation Vs Conformism.
On the basis of focus	..	Behavioural Norms Vs Cultural Norms.
On the basis of mode	..	Alloplastic Vs Autoplastic.

Besides these classifications, Parsons (1965), Dean (1961), Neal and Retting (1967) and Finifter (1972) carried out researches to investigate dimensions of alienation.

Alienation Syndrome

Ziller (1969) studies various samples of children and concluded that the process leading from the exclusion to alienation syndromes (low self esteem, low social interest and high self centrality) may be a self fulfilment mediated by reduced social reinforcement. He concluded that inadequacies of self are assumed to be associated with the concept of alienation.

Haller (1972), Jackson (1974) and Sharma & Rai (1976) had discussed that social awareness is a stage factor which is relating to alienation and self role diffusion. They also identified three types of alienation syndromes, quite distinct, though all include traits that make a person disliked by others.

(1) Recessive alienation syndrome characterised by reserved listless and withdrawn behaviour.

(2) Socially disinterested alienation syndrome is that of a self-bound person concerned primarily with his own interest and welfare.

(3) In social ineffective syndrome, people cause trouble to others by being noisy, boisterous, showoffs, by resisting authority.

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ignoring rules, regulations and even laws and by rejecting accepted cultural modes regarding behaviour, speech and dress.

Sokols (1975) viewed the experience of alienation as a sequential developmental process which (a) develops in the context of an ongoing relationship between an individual and another person or group of people, (b) involves an unexpected deterioration in the quality of outcomes provided to the individuals by other(s) and (c) persists to the extent that the individual and other(s) remain psychologically proximal on the basis of variable components, personal neutral thwarting salience, non-salience of alternatives, a typology of behavioural syndromes, isolation, reintegration, subjugation and rebellion. Though in each of these syndromes the individual's appraisal of the situation leads to atleast temporary disillusionment, the induction of persisting cognitive changes as a result of one's exposure to personal thwarting by another is viewed to be the central and unique feature of alienation experience.

In general, alienation syndrome is marked by such unsocial behaviour as teasing, bullying, making unpleasant comments, being super critical, intentionally annoying people, lying, projecting blames on others and being sullen, sulky and moody. People characterised by other socially ineffective syndromes are annoying to others, while those characterised by recessive and socially disinterested are so distasteful that others have no desire to do anything with them.

At extreme alienation, there is acute psychosis, total cultural refusal, subversive and revolutionary activity, socio-pathy, criminality etc. Less alienated, non-conformity, neurosis, detachment and social reform. Similar opposites will be at conformist social side of continuum.

It has been observed that extremely alienated youngmen have distrust and are affirmative. There is an ideology of opposition, and the world offers so many targets for their repudiation that they have little energy left for the development of alternative values. This might be called acute alienation.

Symptoms and Signs of Alienation

Alienation expresses itself in various forms, features, signs and symptoms which are obvious as well as hidden.

Horney (1950) claimed that symptoms and signs of alienation from self are both gross and subtle. They are most obvious in the state of personalization, fugue state and amnesia, where there is a gross disorien-

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tation and marked interference with self awareness. It is obvious in obsessional thoughts that appear to have no connection with persons having them and with compulsive acts that are felt as though they are externally caused. In subtle manifestations, it can be seen in certain dullness or deadness of eyes, dearth of facial expressiveness and overt behaviour. From the subjective point of view, the individual feels as though he lived in a fog. Hutt and Leon (1973) contended that attitudes of normlessness, powerlessness, social isolation and pessimism can be hightened with changes in self perception as a result of other's social responses.

Seeman (1967) studied a Swedish community and described consequences of alienation as hostility, anomia, political withdrawal, status seeking and a sense of powerlessness. Meissner (1974) found that alienation leads to aggression against establishment or dominant social structure. Oppenheiser and Mertin (1968) pointed out the student movement as a response to alienation and Meissner (1974) found lack of attention and more fluctuation in alienated students.

Nachmias (1974) found that, (a) due to powerlessness, alienated persons tend to withdraw from politics; (b) distrustful individuals tend to approve of and engage in illegitimate modes of participation; (c) due to meaninglessness, alienated persons tend to employ legitimate modes of participation; and (d) due to isolation—alienated individuals tend to respond by political withdrawal coupled with unconventional social protest.

Roughly speaking, these feelings and perceptions are the reverse of the view expressed by the English poet, John Donne, when he said, "No man is an island, entire of itself. Every man is a piece of continent, a part of the main."

In modern times, the term "alienation" has been used by philosophers, psychologists, and sociologists to refer to a variety of psychological disorders. The alienated individual may well see himself as an alien like an island—separated from his fellows, unattached to them; and with few bonds or ties of any enduring or intimate nature. He suffers from certain feelings of powerlessness, normlessness and meaninglessness which result in the form of hostility, aggression and lack of attention.

Thus, the alienated man is any person drifting in a world that has little meaning for him, and over which he exercises little power, a stranger to himself and to others.

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Psychological Factors of Alienation

In this section variables like ego strength, anxiety, generalization, aggression, depression, rage, fear, cognition etc. have been discussed in relation to alienation.

McClosky and Schar (1965) studied psychological features like ego strength, anxiety, generalized aggression, depression, rage, deviant belief, cognition and fear with anomie. He found relationship in these variables with feeling of anomie.

Etzioni (1968), argued that manipulation is a distinct type of alienation, since the individual is unable to participate authentically in the process that shapes his life.

Sidney (1970) defined alienation in adolescents as a mental process through which necessary physical and psychic distances from parents and society is achieved. It is a defence against painful ideas and effects associated with disruption with Cathexis to past relationship. So it is dynamic and society plays an important role.

Michael (1966) found lack of attention and more fluctuation in alienated students. Satio (1970) studied psychological effects of social alienation. These are impaired thinking, regression to past thought to avoid stillness and monotony, intolerable feelings and decreased work capacity in students.

Dean (1961), McClosky and Schar (1965) etc. showed a positive relation of age with alienation. Many investigators e g. Weinberg (1969), Angello (1973), Martin (1974), found a curvilinear relationship or different effect at different stage or time. They claim that alienation is less at earlier age, becomes more intense at the adolescent age, then decreases at adult age and again increases at the old age.

Mehta (1970) studied previous powerlessness and present cost on the use of power, in 2 successive situations. In the first, they experienced frustration and powerlessness, and in the second, the power. Results indicated that subjects in the first situation constituted intentional harm, whereas power person were least harmful to dependent persons.

Shrivastava, Sinha and Jain (1971) obtained the responses of 40 Indian female students on sentence completion test and alienation scale of Jessor in order to find out the correlates of alienation. Their findings suggested that the genesis of alienation can best be located in the nebulous

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fears in the subjects effective attitudinal relations.

Pulmino (1971) studied 11th grade students and found a significant relationship between anxiety and alienation. Meissner (1974) found that alienation leads to aggression against establishment or dominant social structure.

Liebbart and Ernst (1972) in their research paper stated that Authoritarianism and Alienation is determined of prejudiced and anti-social attitude changes. They tested 54 high school students who had changed schools immediately after joining the new class and 6 more later. Instruments were a German adaptation of the E-scale used to test prejudice, a scale gathered from several American sources to test ethnocentrism and tolerance of drugs. In the 6 more cases follow-up additional questions of social interaction with peers and teachers were added. Analysis of covariance and partial correlations showed that the prejudice and alienation tests, independent of each othe , are suitable to predict changes in attitude of ethnic intolerance and tolerance of drug use. Interaction of these personality characteristics and social situation are interpreted.

Walter (1974) found relationship between OPI (Omnibus Personality Inventory) and 4 dimensions of alienation at .05 level of significance. OPI variable included intellectual disposition category, social extro-version, impulse expression, personal integration, anxiety level and political outlook. Wismer (1975) found that variation in competence is related to variation in self-estrangement.

Meier and Bell (1959) found lack of commitment and disagreement in alienated old age people.

Bhatti and Channabasavana (1979) reported the association between the perception of anomie and many independent variables. The effect of age, duration of marriage, leisure time activities, expectations from marriage, compatibility and reasons for marital problems had definite correlation with the perception of anomie.

Reviewing available researchers on psychological factors related to alienation it seems that alienation is positively related to variables like fear, anxiety, frustration, cognition, impairment etc. and is inversely related to youth age and old age, cognition, ego strength etc.

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Sex

The most controversial issue is whether men or women are more alienated. A number of studies have been undertaken keeping in view the sex-variable but no conclusive results seem to have been reached.

Barnett (1970) found women to be more alienated as compared to men. Gurin (1969) found difference in locus of control. Beneke (1971) found boys significantly higher in alienation as compared to girls. Women are more internally controlled than men.

Susan and Horman (1969) attempted to replace the findings of Gurin (1969) on 50 women students in Women's Liberation Movement and found that Women Liberation Group was relatively more internal as compared to the control group.

A few investigators such as Rotter (1966), Taylor (1974), Franklyne (1975) claimed that no sex difference exists in feeling of alienation and no generalization can be made whether men or women are more alienated.

But it will be noted, that most of these studies except that by Sinha (1971), were conducted in other countries, where the child rearing practices for girls and boys are different than what they are in India. They seem to be more differential here. Sinha (1971) also attributed sex differences to child modes of conduct, taboos, and restrictions are emphasized to regulate the behaviour of girls, which play a role in the locus of control. Independent training is generally not so much encouraged among girls, as it is encouraged among boys.

Barnett (1970) provided various clues as to how locus of control may vary in meaning from men to women by discovering their self-concept, motives, and values. They found a man's thinking is self-oriented, whereas a woman's thinking is more environment oriented.

Sharma and Rai (1976) discussed the views of Kuter (1979) who had found a positive relation between size of educational institution and the dimensions of alienation (i.e. meaninglessness, powerlessness, social estrangement and composite alienation).

The psychological problems of an individual may affect his competence in daily life. It may, further, affect his adjustment to life leading him to a sense of alienation.

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Though alienation appears to be a necessary accompaniment of development and modernization its management and control is necessary for the warmth, pleasure and exhuberance in human life.

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PAUL CRUTZEN'S NUCLEAR WINTER : CAN IT BE AVERTED ?—A NOTE ON ECOLOGICAL ETHICS*

Bhuvan Chandel

The chilling disclosure about the disastrous consequences of a nuclear war made by Paul Crutzen has sparked an explosion of scientific investigation. The insightful disclosure is suggesting that nuclear armaments when used could release dark sun blocking clouds which might enshroud much of the globe. As a consequence temperature could fall as low as below freezing point for months. The studies are supported by Cart Sagon and Richard Turco and many other atmospheric scientists.

This computing of climatic effects of nuclear darkness and the consequent catastrophe of a nuclear war has forced all thinking minds to take cognizance of the fact that the ultimate relationship exists between man and his environment. It has revealed the significance of a delicate exchange of chemicals by which the atmosphere stays mystically in balance with life which in turn is contingently related to it for its very survival. These studies have also obviously deepened our understanding of the vital ozone layers and how its destruction would impair the life forms of millions of people.

These new studies are taking into account not only the process of depletion of life sustaining stratospheric ozone but also the impairment of the fundamental conditions which make human life possible. The effect of the toxic substances like ammonia, methane hydrocarbons and chlorinated compounds would effect not only the bodily needs and functions like hunger and thirst but would also have an adverse effect on the human and social dimensions of man's natural behaviour pattern both at the level of thought and action. Man may cease to hunt or fish. He may even lack the desire to collect food or have social contact with other human beings.

Hence the need to single out and emphasize the specific problems

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pertaining to the man environmental relationship so that concepts and propositions can be evolved and built into the very fabric of our thinking process and can be integrated into our evaluational procedures, attitudes and decisions.

In fact twentieth century thinking pertaining to man society relationship is geared more towards politico-economic dimensions. And the concepts of environment or environmental quality has yet to find place in the assumptions, formulations and procedures of the economy. The question of environmental quality will be entertained only if this did not interfere with economic growth and the rate and ratio of profit that accrues to soceity in a given framework of political economy.

But in the course of historical growth of mankind there are such recognizeable facts as "leaps" either into realms of accelerated growth or conversely into the precipices of doom. When the latter situation seizes the destiny of mankind we are left with no other alternative except to address ourselves immediately and earnestly to the needs, realities and challenges of those environmental problems which can threaten mankind with a total disaster which could spell a dooms day for all humanity. In such an eventuality all other considerations will move out to accord primary significance to the ecological issues.

The life styles and the quality of life are totally inseparable from the sources and uses of energy. The twentieth century industrial society has been conceived and built largely upon the use of non renewable energy resources, the exhaustion of which is not a remote possibility. It is necessary therefore to develop new and non exhaustible sources of energy and to prevent the existing resources from being otherwise depleted. The quantity of energy available will impose firm limits on the activities and programmes of society.

The implications and secondary effects of energy systems have therefore to be continuously observed and studied with a view to adopting whatever energy policies may be required to maintain and enhance the quality of human life and to protect the life support systems of the planets. The natural materials are in any case unevenly distributed throughout the wide spread face of the earth. For equitable distribution of resources, therefore, it is essential to have institutional networks for resources management and protection from pollution and depletion.[1]

We have therefore to immerse ourselves into the implications of a

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sustainable man environment relationship from the standpoint of its impact on social and economic growth and on the survival of man living in societal frameworks. Those who are conducting researches on the the impact of man's activities on the environment or conversely the impact of environmental factors on the life process of man himself have to broaden their perspectives and to think through the implications of a sustainable man-environment relationship. This task can be achieved through an explicit articulation of the multi faceted dimensions of ecological ethics.

II

We have stated the problems above. The questions which arise in the above context are : what is the nature of this sustainable man-environment relationship ? In fact, we may ask even a few more fundamental questions : What is the substantive nature of each one of these concepts ? What are the dispositions, qualities, capacities, potentialities in each ?— Unless we solve these problems we cannot arrive at those points of intersection where they cut across each other and influence each other. Also perhaps we will not be in a position to have a clear grasp of the modalities of their respective patterns of interaction.

However such an exercise can only be undertaken by a theoretician of value implications which must begin with what may be called *self interpretation* and *self vindication* of man by man.

Hence our exercise will pose the questions of "Where have we come from, what are we, and where are we going"? This is the primary question of historicity raised by Gaugin and which each one of us has always raised and which expresses historicity of being an individual. The question has never changed but the answers have. The answer to the question is what may be called historical consciousness. However, diverse answers in substance and structure can be referred to as the stages of historical consciousness.

The threshold of humanity was crossed at the moment when regulation by *norms* was substituted for regulation by *instincts* and it is the theoretical construction of unreflected generality wherein the genesis of the systems of values, habits and institutions of the group in question encompasses the genesis of the world and universe as such. Unreflected only refers to the primitiveness of man, his total identity with his clan or tribe. We are historical beings because we are in time and space; though the image of space is not distinguished from the image of time.

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At this level time is not conceptualized, it is only in the *image* of the infinitude. However, the above stage of historicity contains either in a latent or an explicit way all principles and modes of *self understanding*.

It is an interesting exercise to know at what stage of historical consciousness human nature became both the *source* and the *limit* of human possibilities. At what stage the interplay of fate and human activity assumed an explicit form and at what stage the distinction between understanding and action was recognized. Was teleology the basis of all causal explanations till human mind learnt to make a distinction between what is true and what is false ? At what stage did the principles of verification and falsification appear ?

Agnes Heller in her *Theory of History*[2] has touched upon some of the issues listed above. It am seeking explanation for the above questions in the growth of historical consciousness as I would be interested in knowing how man snapped his links with nature and learnt to have the image of an *alternative*. It would mean that from this point onwards the upshot of his decisions could end in *survival* or *ruin*; thus making both dependent on human decisions. The idea of alternative, therefore, implied correspondingly, the idea of *collapse* and *destruction*.

This threat of alternative possibility necessitated *contemplation* and *action*, so that we could know that which we ought to do and the *way* in which we ought to do; in order that our human community will survive and flourish. Perhaps this is the stage of individualization and of interpretation, of verifications and justifications. This is the point when man learnt to have verification and justification of the various interpretations of good, just and true and learnt to derive it from a meaningful relation between the *universal* and the *particular* good. The idea of supreme good emerged as a strong base for human thoughts and actions.

The concept of supreme good reflected the consciousness of universality of *humankind* and spelled out the belief that it is necessary to live in *togetherness* with each other. It was deemed to be a necessity but simultaneously the echoes of previous ages sounded to make it explicit that it was a misery to do so. Hence the concept of supreme good was subjected to diverse *theoretical possibilities* and became open to all kinds of *anthropoligical radicalisms*. Consequently, it lead to the unhapply consciousness of reflected universality in the ethics of *ambiguity*.

Heller argues that the idea of *catastrophe, ecological consciousness* (involving the notion of our natural limits), the idea of our being contami-

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nated because of our transgressions against nature and the consciousness of the restricted and fragile existence of our civilization emerged in the last stage of the development of historical consciousness.[3] She calls it the "confusion of historical consciousness" as a general phenomena generated by the horrors of first world war and intensified in the traumatic experiences of the second world war and Hiroshima.

These events have shaken the belief systems and have consequently challenged and accused the positive philosophies of history based on Science or mythologies of hope. Nietzche, Hegel and Marx were brought on trial for having instigated all that happened and as such for being accomplices in the mass murder. Had they constructed the future in a different way the *cataclysm* would not have occurred. Had human mind been rational or dialectical instead of being irrational and metaphysical, history would have taken a different course. False and incorrect knowledge helped in the collapse of all consistent philosophies of history. Morality, the value structures and the instrumental rationality had miserably failed us. Such was the anguish and the agony expressed by mankind after the first few encounters with the blasphemous nuclear explosion in Hiroshima and Nagasaki which had sounded the bell for the dooms day and passed the indictment against natural sciences.

This consciousness may be described as the consciousness of *negative totality*, of *radical sinfulness* which created one dimensional men incapable of authentic experience and judgement with regard to the nature of catastrophe. Or like drug addicts did they entertain the irretrievable aesthetic vision of the landscape of total catastrophe ?

For the first time consciousness of a planet dawned upon mankind more or less as a discovery. Ecological balance is no longer a fact to be studied but a problem to be solved. Philosophy of history has thus been re-integrated into philosophy of nature. Ecological consciousness, involving the notion of our natural limits became co-eval with our subsequent twentieth century existence. For the first time in history human beings have to take *planetarian responsibility*.

However, planetarian responsibility in itself can not as yet become *planetarian commitment* ; for it can evoke and reinforce the feeling of impotence, the confusion of consciousness and consequently the unhappy consciousness. Planetarian responsibility is only a commitment to ecological *ethics*. Are we still able to differentiate between good and evil ? Are we ready to work out the ethics of planetarian responsibility together ? Have we got sufficient resources to achieve a world in which

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good is no longer an impossibility to achieve "temptation for supreme good of mankind is enormous, nevertheless," as Breacht pointed out.

But the western and the eastern ethical traditions stress the necessity of men being virtuous before we can achieve a state of perfection or near perfection (which is only an ideal !). We need institutions within the confines of which even a *race of devils* would behave in an ethically acceptable way. Can the primacy of practical reason become constitutive in society indispensable for society and indeed for all societies sharing our planet with us ?

Human beings are born *free* and are endowed with *reason*. We still have Aeschylus as a witness to our rebellious image of man when he says in his *Prometheus Unbound.*

> "I shall never exchange my fetters for slavish servility. "Tis better to be chained to the rock than *bound* to the service of Zeus"[4]

Just as Promethean image of man had marked a new beginning of a new religion of man which led to wild and exotic horizons of possibilities and expectations, may we hope that this image of man as a *free* and *rational* being will afford the hope and the possibility of averting man engineered disasters ?

Freedom and *reason* are propensities which even though eternal account for change, dynamism and historical growth. Through *reason* man can create rational society by the appropriate application of his knowledge and awareness of history. As such he can realize future by realizing the *models of rationality*. And by virtue of *freedom* as a capacity ingrained in human nature he can *choose* his history. But precisely on account of this *choice* he may meet his disaster; for *reason and freedom* can be autithetical to each other. However man being the subject and bearer of the universal good of mankind which is a *substantive goal* for *universal humanity* may steer clear of the conflict and save mankind from the horrors of a nuclear winter predicted by Paul Crutzen and associates which will otherwise be the inevitable end of mankind.

we are confined to "*togetherness*" along with other mortals with whom we share this planet.[5] The well of our past is indeed deep and responsibility enormous. Yet, we may strongly wish for an existence which gives *sense* and *meaning* to it. This we can do *only* by sharing the *moral responsibility* with our "*togetherness*". It is an 'ought to be'

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—utopia as a norm for 'ought to do'—actions which on its part provides the *will* to achieve utopia and conceives this with the *imperative* that all empirical subjects should will the same for the universal survival of mankind—to use the Kantian framework !

Every individual in so far as he or she is capable of reflection, of making human relationships the objects of his or her thinking is also capable of creating relationships with the other, with the external world and with the planet along with its deeply mystifying symbolisms.[6]

Philosophers have so far ignored the problems of nuclear holocaust and nuclear winter, for they are attuned to the problems of universals and tend to undermine the problems of the 'particular' and the 'unique'.[7] Yet the imperative need of the hour is to attend to the problems of the momentously 'unique'[8] Nuclear winter indeed constitutes a Colossal challenge to humanity and points the way to a devastatingly negative direction that man's historical emergence may undertake. The possibility of total extermination of life on the surface of this planet must therefore make us aware of the necessity to align the truths of life with the truths of philosophy.

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SOME UNPUBLISHED SCULPTURES FROM GUJJAR KHERI (HARYANA)

Devendra Handa

Gujjar Kheri, located on Ganaur-Ahulana road at a distance of about 25 km. north-north-west of Sonepat in Haryana, is one of those numerous places which bear the variation of the name Gurjara that occurs for the first time in literature and inscriptions belonging to the sixth century A.D.[1] Gurjara in ancient times denoted Gurjara-deśa and its inhabitants who later spread far and wide and lent their name to different places and even regions in north and west India. People calling themselves Gujjars may still be found from the Indus to the Gaṅgā and from Hazara mountain (now in Pakistan) to the Narmadā.[2] Mostly herdsmen, the Gujjars in the later period probably never excelled as farmers and soldiers.[3] They specialized in cattle-keeping and adopted milk-selling as their main avocation during the medieval period. About a century back, Ibbetson found the Gujjars to be the eighth largest caste in Punjab which then included the present state of this name in India and Pakistan as also Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and some adjoining territories in the former.[4] Even now the Gujjars form a considerable portion of the population of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and Gujarat.

The wide distribution of place-names derived from Gurjara and the existence of scattered tribes calling themselves Gujjars are associated by some scholars with the gradual spread of the alien tribe of Khazars in its onward march across northern India. The Khazars, i.e., Gurjaras, they believe, entered India from the north-west along with the Hūṇas in the fifth century A.D.[5] D. R. Bhandarkar maintained that this foreign tribe came under Brahmanical influence and divided itself into four castes, viz. Gurjara Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras.[6] K. M. Munshi[7] and Dasharath Sharma[8] have shown the hollowness of the theory of the alien origin of the Gurjaras and regard the Gurjaras as the indigenous people belonging to Gurjara, the country, i.e., Gurjara-deśa.

Without going into the polemics of the origin, development and spread of the Gujjars, we may take the village Gujjar Kheri to have once

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been inhabited by the tribe. The Gujjars cannot be regarded to be the original founders of the village, at best they could have been its refounders because the huge mound of Gujjar Kheri yields archaeological relics which go back to a period anterior to the existence of the tribe. The suffix Kheri may be derived from the Sanskrit word *Kheṭikā* which means an old village, town or hamlet. So, it is probable that the Gujjars settled on the ruins of an old site and gave it their name.

The present village covers only a part of the huge mound which is about 25 metres high and whose circumference is more than 10 km. It lies on the western bank of the dry bed of what must have once been a mighty river, probably the ancient Yamunā which now flows about 30 km. east of it. The ancient sites of Ahir Majra[9] and Bulandpur Kheri[10] must have been the suburbs of the old town. Locally it is believed that in the days of yore it was known variously as Mayana, Kota, Satkumbha[11] and Jalallabad. A popular legend tells us that it was the capital city of a wicked king Chakwa Ben who perished as a result of the curse of a sage. The story goes that Chakwa Ben performed a sacrifice and called a sage named Chunkat to partake of the offerings but the latter refused to do so. The king ordered Chunkat out of his domain and the sage set out on his journey. After days of walking the sage halted to take rest thinking that he had crossed the frontiers of Chakwa Ben's dominion. Suddenly, he saw a deer chased by the hunters and crying "duhāī, Rājā Chakwa Ben !" Rather than feeling humbled by the realization of the extent of the king's empire, the angry sage resolved to teach the proud Chakwa Ben that howsoever much he might acquire in the way of crowns and dominions, his mundane power was transient and no match for the spiritual power of the holy man. Chunkat returned to Satkumbha and cursed both the king and his kingdom shortly after which the metropolis was swept away by floods. A local tribe called Venh or Venhwal derivable from Vainyāḥ, i.e. descendants of Vena, still preserve the name and story of the mythical king.[12]

The name Chakwa Ben and the story of his death as a result of the wrath of a sage leave little doubt to his identification with Chakravartī Vena, the wicked king who met with his end as a result of his stupidity and impiety at the hands of the sages, described in the *Mahābhārata*[13] and the *Purāṇas*[14]. Then the sages are said to have churned his right hand to get his successor and thus Pṛithu was produced. Pṛithu was anointed king. He was a pious ruler and the earth receives her name Pṛithvī from him.[15] He is the eponymous founder of Pṛithūdaka, i.e., modern Pehowa in district Kurukshetra.[16]

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Whether the metropolis of Chakwa Ben was destroyed by flood or some other agency may only be determined by persistent and systematic archaeological excavations of the site but the antiquity of the place may be traced back to the Mahābhārata period as is indicated by the discovery of Painted Grey Ware, a typical pottery tentatively associated with the Mahābhārata people and roughly assigned to the first half of the first millennium B.C.[17] Abundant early historic plain red ware reveals that the site may have been in a flourishing state during the early centuries of the Christian era. That it continued to be an important town during the medieval period is also borne out by various relics found from here. It may have been destroyed during an attack of Sultan Masud in 1036 A.D. when he defeated Dipal Har, the governor of Sonepat.[18]

Right on the top of the mound to its east, now exists a temple in which medieval material—pillars, architectural pieces and even sculptures —have been freely used. This part of the mound is known as Satkumbha and there is a tank nearby, by the side of the mound. It is generally believed by the people that the water of this tank possesses miraculous properties and never dries up, not even during the hot summer months.[19] Thousands of devotees from all over the region visit this place on Sundays, the last Sunday of Śrāvaṇa and the full-moon day of Kārttika every year in particular.

The mound shows hollows at many places. In some instances relics of even double-storied buildings buried in the mound may also be seen. Most of the houses in the village are built up of old bricks harried from the mound. Brick-extraction has actually become a profession for some of the inhabitants. Not only bricks, even complete medieval carved pillars and other architectural pieces are sometimes extracted and removed to distant places.[20] Coins and terracottas, too, are obtained from the site quite often.[21] Silver coins of Ādivarāha type of Bhoja Pratihāra, Bull-Horseman type of silver coins of Sāmantadeva and Tomara copper coins are found from here in large numbers.[22]

A large number of stone sculptures from Gujjar Kheri have been removed to distant places[23] but some of them may still be seen studded in the walls of various houses or placed in the shrines at Satkumbha,[24] Gujjar Kheri, Ahir Majra,[25] Bulandpur Kheri,[26] Chilkana[27] etc. The National Museum, New Delhi[28]; Gurukul Museum, Jhajjar[29]; Govt. Museum & Art Gallery, Chandigarh[30] and the Department of Archaeology & Museums, Haryana, Chandigarh[31], too, possess a good collection of sculptures and carved pieces from Gujjar Kheri. A few speci-

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mens may be seen in the private collection of Shri Shri Krishna Karwal at Ganaur. A rich collection from the site has, howevr, been made by Mrs. Raj Kumari Malik, an art-connoisseur of Chandigarh and we describe below the important art-remains in her possession.[32] All these images are made of sandstone which varies from buff to brown in hue.

1. Bust of Vishṇu (Fig. 1)

Badly mutilated, the extant piece which measures 28 × 21 cm., shows the bust and head of Vishṇu with long cylindrical crown placed over curly hair combed backwards. The crown is adorned with acentral jewel, a face of glory (*kīrtimukha*) spewing beaded festoons and lively retrorse animal figurines filling the space between the looped tassels.[33] The aureole behind the head must have been lotiform as can be made out from the still surviving petal on the proper left of the crown. The god bears a beautitudinous expression with quasi-closed long pisciform eyes, sturdy nose, thick lower lip, plump cheeks and prominent chin. He wears a *patra-kuṇḍala* in his left ear (right one gone), pearl necklet and beaded *graiveyaka*, beaded sacred thread and armlet (on the extant left arm). *Śrīvatsa* on the chest and *Vaijayantīmālā* on the left shoulder and arm may also be made out. All the four hands are broken but the disposition of the back left hand may easily be guessed as rising above the elbow from the broken portion. The hands, however, must have possessed the usual attributes. The complete image in its original form must have been an elegant piece. It bears Registration No. HRN/AMB-630.

2. Garuḍavāhī Vishṇu (Fig. 2)

This small 15 × 10 cm. piece (Reg. No. HRN/AMB-625) shows anthropomorphous Garuḍa in flying pose bearing on his back the god Vishṇu whose folded left leg supported by Garuḍa on his left arm and the lower left hand holding the conch only have survived. Garuḍa has his hair combed backwards with probably a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* over it. His facial expression indicates the vigour with which he is carrying his lord. He wears ear ornaments, an anguine necklace, sacred thread armlets and bracelets. The portion below the waist is broken. The conch in Vishṇu's hand has been held horizontally and is carved prominently. The general workmanship is not of a high standard.

Garuḍārūḍha Vishṇu images are quite rare in Haryana.[34] So this figure, even though roughly carved, has its own importance.

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3. Trivikrama Vishṇu (Fig. 3)

Depiction of Vishṇu in his Vāmana-Trivikrama form is very rare in Haryana. Though his Vāmana form has been met with in the region[35], yet this is the first Trivikrama form to be published from the state. The quadrumanous god holding a mace horizontally over the head with his upper right hand, a lotus in the proper right near the chest and the discus in his back left hand is shown as taking a stride with his right leg stretched aloft at the end of which is seen a bearded demon head which typifies the Brahmāṇḍa[35] or Rāhu.[36] The image is broken bellow the waist and the normal left hand of the god is also broken. The god bears a not very high crown, ear ornaments, pearl necklet, armlets, bracelets and *vanamālā*. The disc in the back left hand shows petal-like spokes around a prominent hub. The refined workmanship is missing.

The image in its extant form measures 19×16 cm. It bears Reg. No. HRN/AMB-626. Being, however, the first Trivikrama Vishṇu[37] from Haryana, it is important.

4. Parikara of a Vishṇu Image (Fig. 4)

Measuring 44×27 cm., this ornamental arch shows two armed seated Sūrya in a pillared niche in the *tilaka* flanked by garland bearing *Vidyādharas* with the incarnatory forms of Vishṇu depicted below in a row. Beginning from the proper right, we have Fish surmounted on a post, Tortoise between the legs of the following two human figures which probably symbolically represent gods and demons churning the ocean, Rāma holding a bow in the left hand with right akimbo, Balarāma with a similar posture but supporting perhaps a mace in his left hand, therianthropic Varāha and Nṛisiṁha, Vāmana and Paraśurāma. In the *nāgara-kūṭas* on the two sides are carved Brahmā and Śiva with *makara-mukhas* facing out and supporting perhaps the *apasarases* on their snouts on the extremities.

The depiction of Fish on a post is interesting.[38] Also the incarnatory forms do not follow the fixed order. No image from Haryana shows the incarnatory forms in this way.

5. Vishṇu's hand with mace (Fig. 5)

This 16 cm. high broken piece showing the forearm and the upper

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right hand stylistically holding the fluted shaft of the mace with its thicker end pointed downwards is obviously a part of some Vishṇu sculpture. The wrist bears a beaded bracelet.

6. Vishṇu's hand with lotus (Fig. 6)

The beautiful realistic hand holding a *nīlotpala* (6.5 cm. high) seems to have been the proper right hand of the same image of Vishṇu whose detached upper right holding the mace has been described above. The treatment of the nails in both the examples is noteworthy. The buff colour of the sandstone is also common to both.

Also notable is the fact that the four armed god held lotus and mace in his normal and back right hands and the left hands may have held the remaining two attributes, i.e., disc and conch. The order of the emblems indicates the image to have corresponded to Trivikrama form of Vishṇu as described in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* or the Nārāyṇa form as depicted in the *Padma Purāṇa*.[39]

7. Hari-Hara (Fig. 7)

This small portable image, 17.5 × 12 cm., is an unfinished piece still showing chisel marks on the back slab. As prescribed in the iconographical texts, we find the right half of the image representing Śiva and the left half Vishṇu. The god stands enfacing on the central off-set of the *pañcharatha* pedestal, wearing circular discs in the ears, *graiveyaka*, *yajñopavīta*, armlets, bracelets, lower garment secured by a waistband and the long garland which comes down lower than the knees from over the arms and back of the god. The coiffure consists of half *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on Śiva's side and half *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* on the other side over Vishṇu's head. The normal right hand is broken and the rear right holds a trident with a long shaft vertically. A conch and a disc are held in the suspended proper left and uplifted back left hands. Near the right foot of the god is shown the front half of Nandī bull in profile with face turned to look at his master whereas on the corresponding other side is depicted the Garuḍa having human torso and avian lower half. A very crudely carved figure, perhaps *Śrī*, may be seen on the extreme projection of the pedestal standing next to Garuḍa.

As stated above, Gujjar Kheri has yielded a very large number of sculptures and architectural pieces. This unfinished icon furnishes the evidence of the images having been carved on the site itself.

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8. Nārasiṁhī (Fig. 8)

One of the rare images found from Gujjar Kheri, it measures 13×10 cm. and bears Reg. No. HRN/AMB-634. The goddess is shown as seated on a cushion in *lalitāsana*. Unfortunately, the face of the goddess is slightly damaged but the manes arranged in two braids falling on the shoulders and the extant protion of the face leave little doubt to its being Nārasiṁhī. The four handed goddess holds what look like a wine-cup and *Śriphala* (wood-apple) in her normal right and left hands respectively while corresponding upper hands hold a sword and a bell. She is wearing an *ekāvalī*, another single stringed pearl necklace falling on the belly from over the rotund breasts, bracelets and the *adhovastra*. Part of a lotus is carved on the pedestal just below the feet of the goddess.

Almost a similar image of Nārasiṁhī but with two lions carved facing outwards below the lotus seat has been recovered from Agroha also. Another Nārasiṁhī image may be seen studded in a wall of the Garibnath ki Haveli at Pehowa.[40] It shows the goddess seated on a lion in *sukhāsnna* with a child on her folded left leg. The face of the child who is touching the left breast of the goddess is mutilated.[41] But for the normal left hand which supports the child, all the other three hands of the goddess are broken. The goddess bears a lion-head and is not boar-headed as described by Dr. Shukla.[42] This is very clear from the braided manes falling on the two shoulders as in our piece from Gujjar Kheri and the Agroha image.

9. Brahmāṇī (Fig. 9)

Bearing Reg. No. HRN/AMB-631, another small image of Brahmāṇī, 19×12.5 cm., indicates that the Mātṛikās were worshipped popularly at Gujjar Kheri. The image, however, is yet another example of crude workmanship. The goddess stands in *samapāda-sthānaka* pose on a lotus seat wearing a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, *ekāvalī*, earrings, bracelets, lower garment with a sash on the thighs and the long garland. There is a plain round gloriole behind the head. Her suspended normal right hand is dispensed in *varada-mudrā* while the three others hold a laddle, a book and a water-pot in the *pradakshiṇā* order. Near the feet on either side are carved attendant figures—a female and a male but they are so crude that it is difficult to identify them properly.

10. Chāmuṇḍā (Fig. 10)

Another rare[43] and iconographically interesting icon found from

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Gujjar Kheri is that of Chāmuṇḍā which unfortunately is broken and shows only the lower portion of the goddess below her thighs. The extant part measures 34 ×25 cm. Its Reg. No. is HRN/AMB-622.

The goddess is shown as dancing with her right foot in *sama* pose and the left one in *kuñchita-mudrā*. Both the knees are bent outwards. The anklets in her feet are clearly visible. Carved lines on the legs and thighs indicate the lower garment which must have been secured by a waist-band whose loop can still be seen on the right thigh of the goddess. Also marked is the long garland of bones and skulls represented as long and round pieces. The goddess is dancing on a lotus held by the *preta* (goblin) who has been depicted as lying prostrate but with the torso lifted sideways and right hand supporting the head looking upwards. This figure is bedecked with a beautiful coiffure, large discs in the ears, beaded *graiveyaka*, bracelets and lower garment tightened with a girdle. He may also be identified as Śiva. Behind the feet of the goddess is a jackal to left with a beaded band round its neck (Fig. 10 A). On the proper right may be seen a female attendant standing in graceful triple-flexion pose, holding a wine-cup and a trident in her right and left hands respectively. Near the left foot of the goddess is another female attendant having a jackal head on a human body. Turned slightly towards the goddess in *tribhaṅga* pose, she holds a wine-cup in her right hand and a spear in the left. She is licking blood from the cup. Behind her is a male figure but it cannot be identified with certitude. Probably a similar figure stood behind the other attendant also. On the extremities are female fly-whiskers. The whole composition is quite pleasing.

11. Pārvatī (Fig. 11)

What would have once been an elegant image now survives only as a part of the *pañcharatha* pedestal showing the feet of Pārvatī on lotus seat under which is depicted iguana (*godhā*), the vehicle of the goddess, flanked by an inward facing lion on the proper right and an artistically and tastefully carved deer with its head turned backwards to scratch its hind left leg. Behind the deer stands a garland bearing female turned slightly towards the goddess standing gracefully with a triple bend in her body. Unfortunately the face of this female figure is mutilated but the hair with a round bun at the back, large earrings, necklet and *ekāvalī* with a string falling down from between the breasts, armlets, bracelets, *uttarīya* and *dhoti* secured by a girdle have all been carved very exquisitely (Fig. 11 A). A part of Pārvatī's long garland is visible above the right hand of this attendant figure. Notable also is the small fire-altar, partly damaged, carved just

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above her head. On the receding recesses behind her are carved a female fly-whisker and a male attendant. The chowrie-bearer stands gracefully wearing ornaments similar to those of the garland-bearer, holding a lotus by its long stalk in her right hand raised to the level of and touching her left breast while the suspended right hand supports the fly-whisk by its shaft. Her hair style and lower garment, however, differ slightly from the preceding figure. Her elongate figure with a pleasant smile, rotund breasts, thin waist, broad sciatic portion and slender legs bestow her a distinctiveness and make her attractive. The male figure on the extreme *ratha* holds a trident in his left hand with right one in protection giving pose near the chest. He bears matted locks in two conical tiers over hair combed backwards. The bow-like eye-brows, long quasi-closed eyes, sturdy nose, oval face with smiling expression resemble the fly-whisker. Large earrings are also similar. He wears beaded necklace and long garland. Wristlets may also be seen. His lower garment with carved double-lined wavy patterns goes down only upto the knees. In its treatment, sash on the thighs, a loose end of the girdle falling vertically on the shank, however, it looks similar to that of the fly-whisker. Anklet may also be seen in the right foot of the male attendant (Fig. 11 A). The necks of all the three attendant figures are marked by three lines (*trivalī*) which are symbolic of beauty. Above the heads of the two figures is partially seen the twirling trunk of the elephant (*gaja-muṇḍa*) which was carved to adorn the back slab. It may be presumed that the corresponding proper right hand side of the image also carried similar attendant figures and decorations.

The attendant with trident indicates the *Śaivite* nature of the main image. The depiction of *godhā* is characteristic of the images of Gaurī : *godhāsanā bhaved Gaurī*.[44] Gaurī is one of the different appellations of Pārvatī.[45] Her association with lion is too well known to need any elucidation but the depiction of lion and deer is interesting as it has been found on other images also which represent Pārvatī performing the *pañchāgnitapas*.[46] The presence of a fire-altar in the extant image corroborates our identification of the icon with that of Pārvatī performing the austere penance of five fires. Though images of Pārvatī in *Pañchatapas* showing the goddess on alligator or with lion and deer are known yet icons showing the alligator, lion and deer together are rare. The extant image measures 40×38 cm. and bears Reg. No. HRN/AMB-618.

12. Umā-Maheśvara (Fig. 12)

A beautiful image of Umā-Maheśvara from Gujjar Kheri is now

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exhibited in the National Museum, New Delhi and another is housed in the Government Museum & Art Gallery, Chandigarh. Not as elegant as those, the present image, though profusely stuccoed, indicates that the worship of Umā-Maheśvara was very popular at Gujjar Kheri during the Pratihāra period. With faces mutilated, Umā-Maheśvara are shown seated on Nandī as usual with Bhṛingī dancing in front. The hands of the divine couple and the legs of Bhṛingī are almost completely lost but the lotiform halo, Brahmā and probably Vishṇu on the stele flanking the aureole, leogryphs on the backslab, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya and two other male figures representing perhaps Kāla and Mahākāla are present.

It measures 55×32 cm. and bears Reg. No. HRN/AMB-621.

13. Doorjamb with River-Goddess (Fig. 13).

This *pañchaśākhā* doorjamb having *patra, nāga, mithuna, latā* and *vyāla* bands depicts the river-goddess standing gracefully under the canopy of a lotus flower followed by a Vaishṇava *pratihāra* in a niche. The posture of the river-goddess and the *nāga* at the base of the *patŕaśākhā* indicate it to have been the proper left hand side of the doorway. As such, the river-goddess, may be Yamunā whose vehicle, the tortoise, is now mutilated. The *rathikā* behind her shows the crowned male figure holding the *vanamālā* at the left knee. The object in the mutilated right hand is not clear but the cylindrical crown on the head makes it certain that the figure represented Vishṇu's attendant, either an *āyudhupurusha* or an ostiary. The *rathikā* is pedimented by a triangular crown which shows *chaitya*-arch motif. *Āmalaka* and *stūpikā* may also be seen at its top.

The extant piece measures 55×25 cm. and bears Reg. No. HRN/AMB-617.

A piece detached from this very doorjamb (Fig. 13 A) clearly shows the three *śākhās* depicting *vyālas, laṭā* and *mithunas*. The other two, i.e., *nāga* and *patra śākhās* having been detached are still with the collector. It is 41 cm. in height and bears Reg. No. HRN/AMB-623.

14. Pedyā with an ostiary (Fig. 14)

Measuring 18×11.5 cm. (Reg. No. HRN/AMB-633), this piece is probably the *pedyā* of a doorjamb depicting in an ornamentally arched *rathikā* an ostiary standing in a double flexion pose with right hand akimbo and left holding some object which is difficult to be identified properly. He bears a top-knot on the head and wears earrings, *ekāvalī*,

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adhovastra and a long garland which indicates his Vaishṇavite affiliation. His feet are splayed outwards. The whole figure being crudely carved and stuccoed, other details cannot be made out properly. Towards the door opening is standing slightly turned to her left a female with a slight bend at her waist, resting her right hand on the respective thigh and probably supporting a vase in her left hand. She may thus be recognised as the river goddess Gaṅgā even though the part of the pedestal under her feet which may have shown her vehicle crocodile is chipped off. On the other extreme to the back of the ostiary stand a female and male attendant who hardly bear any diagnostic features to be identified properly. Just above these attendants is a dwarfish *gaṇa* in a dancing pose. It may have been a part of the doorway. Above the ostiary between the pillars seems to have been some quadrumanous divine figure. The exact nature of the innermost band cannot be made out satisfactorily.

15. **Dancing Gaṇeśa in a rathikā** (Fig. 15)

Measuring 38 × 18.5 cm. and bearing Reg. No. HRN/AMB-619, the piece shows Gaṇeśa standing to front in a dancing pose as can be made out from the splayed out feet and bent legs of the god. The quadrumanous god shows the usual attributes of hatchet, goad and a bowl of sweet balls in his three hands with the normal right disposed ln *abhaya*. Outside the pillars of the *rathikā* are the *vyāla* decorations and above the cornice is an elaborate pediment with double *chaitya-gavāksha* motif. Leonine figures are discernible near the top portion. Obviously it is an architectural piece but what is interesting in it is the trunk of the god which falls down vertically and then turns slightly to its right. Such disposition of the trunk in this part of the country is rare.

16. **Kichaka** (Fig. 16)

It is an architectural piece showing *Kīchaka* or *Bhāraputra* supporting the superstructure on his upper pair of hands. The ease with which he bears the burden is reflected by his smiling face and dancing pose. His lower hands are akimbo. The legs below the knees are broken. He bears matted locks, ear ornaments, *ekāvalī*, perhaps an *uttarīya* or scarf and *dhoti* secured with a girdle.

In its extant form, it measures 13 × 9.5 cm. and bears Reg. No. HRN/AMB-632.

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17. Devotee (Fig. 17)

In a square niche bedecked with pellet decorations on the sides and acanthus leaves in the top corners is seated in three fourths profile a male devotee with folded hands. He is sitting in a kneeling posture. The figure is carved roughly. It measures 18.5×16 cm. and bears Reg. No. HRN/AMB-627.

18. Male with a vase (Fig. 18)

24 cm. high (Reg. No. HRN/AMB-624), this figure shows a male wearing *patra-kuṇḍalas*, *ekāvalī*, *keyūras*, *valayas* and a tight-fit short (*ardhoruk*) secured with a twisted rope-like girdle The vase held near the left shoulder in both the hands is decorated tastefully and represents *maṅgala-kalaśa* or *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*. The hair-coiffure, however, is of some interest as it betrays *udīchya* style (Fig. 18 A). The male seems to stand slightly turned to his left with head raised to look at his master. Who this male is, is difficult to say with certitude. The style, however, brings it quite close to Garuḍa of Fig. 2 described above and it will be no wonder if the same sculptor carved the two figures.

19. Charaṇa-Pādukā (Fig. 19)

Carved on the top of a stone block which measures 19.5×17.5 cm. and is 16.5 cm. high, are the two feet on an *ashṭadala-kamala*. The tradition of worshipping the feet of deities or great men goes back to the early historic period in India. Whose feet are represented here, it is difficult to say. Since the eight-petalled lotus with feet is carved in a square with a channelled projection looking analogous to a *yoni-pīṭha*, the Śaivite nature of the representation is certain. Since Śiva is depicted in a Liṅga form and Liṅga worship has been very popular, the feet cannot be taken to represent Śiva. We feel that they represent some Śaiva saint who must have been held in veneration at Gujjar Kheri during the medieval period.

It bears Reg. No. HRN/AMB-629.

20. Leogryph (Fig. 20)

Measuring 16.5×10.5 cm. and bearing Reg. No. HRN/AMB-628, this is the upper half of a *śārdūla-vyāla*. Like other parts of the country, temples of Haryana, too, seem to have been embellished by such *vyāla* figures during the medieval period.

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It is clear from the foregoing account that all these sculptures and architectural pieces do not form a homogenous group. Though stylistically they generally bear the stamp of Pratihāra art yet they show wide variation of workmanship. The images of Chāmuṇḍā (Figs. 10 & 10 A) and Pārvatī (Figs. 11 & 11 A) betray fine chisel work but Hari-Hara (Fig. 7) and Brahmāṇī (Fig 9) seem to be unfinished. The portability of these two (Figs. 7 and 9) and chisel marks still visible on them, however, furnish the important evidence of these images having been carved at Gujjar Kheri itself. The discovery of hundreds of sculptured pieces and temple remains indicates that Gujjar Kheri was an important religious and art centre during the Pratihāra period and may have continued to be so till the region was overrun by the Muslims.

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2. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
3. Ibbetson, Denzil, *Panjab Castes*, Patiala, 1977 (reprint), pp. 182 ff.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Smith, V. A., *Early History of India*, Oxford, 4th ed., p. 428, fn. 2; Cunningham, Alexander, *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. II, p. 272. Also see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, p. 985; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, p. 192.
6. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI, pp. 405 ff.
7. Munshi, *op. cit.*, Appendix I, pp. 173-81.
8. Sharma, Dasharath, *Rajasthan Through The Ages*, Vol. I, Bikaner, 1966, pp. 108-10.
9. *Indian Archaeology 1963-64—A Review* (henceforth *IAR*). p. 90.
10. Bulandpur Kheri is a small village now about two km. west of Gujjar Kheri. The old mound must have extended upto this place as old relics are still found here. Medieval sculptures obtained from the mound may be seen placed in the village temple and some images and architectural pieces have been studded in the walls of some houses in the village. See also *IAR*, 1960-61, p. 65.
11. Cf. Śatakumbha, a pilgrimage described in the *Mahābhārata* (Mbh.) Gita Press ed., Vana Parva, Ch. 84, v. 10 and *Padma Purāṇa* I. 28, 11.
12. *The Sunday Tribune*, June 9, 1985, Sunday Reading, p. iv.
13. *Mbh.*, Śānti Parva, Ch. 59, vv. 93 ff.
14. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IV. 14; *Harivaṁśa* I. 5, 1-22; *Kūrma Purāṇa* I. 14, 12-24; *Padma Purāṇa* II. 29-38; 39-125; *Vāmana Purāṇa*, Chs. 47-48; *Vāyu Purāṇa* II. 1, 92-93;
15. *Mbh.*, Śānti Parva, Ch. 59, vv. 98 ff.; *Agni Purāṇa*, Ch. 18; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IV. 15-24; *Brahma Purāṇa*, Ch. 2; *Brahmāṇda Purāṇa* I. 36, 89-95; *Harivaṁśa* I. 5-6; *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 10; *Padma Purāṇa* V. 8, 1-34 etc.; *Vāyu Purāṇa* II. 1-2; *Skanda Purāṇa* VII. 1, 336; *Vishṇu Purāṇa* I. 13, 30-95 etc.
16. Handa, Devendra, "Pehoa—The Ancient Pṛthūdaka", *Purāṇam*, Vol. IX, No. 2, July 1967, pp. 197-206.

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17. Lal, B. B., "Excavations at Hastināpura and other Explorations in the Upper Gaṅgā and Sutlej Basins 1950-52", *Ancient India*, Nos. 10-11 (1954-55), Table I, p. 12A.
18. Briggs, John, *Tārīkh-i-Firishtā*, Eng, tr., Calcutta, 1910, p. 69.
19. Strangely some devotees claim to have often seen wet unidentified footprints on the steps of the tank, adding a supernatural dimension to the hallowed place. The Haryana Government has recently sanctioned an amount of two and a half lakh rupees for the renovation of this tank (*The Tribune*, Sept. 5, 1985, p. 3).
20. Some complete and beautifully carved pillars have been fixed in the Kothi of Sd. S. S. Bedi at Ganaur.
21. While serving as Deputy Director in the Department of Archaeology & Museums, Haryana, the author procured during his visit to the site on 12-12-84 eight coins, some sculptured pieces and a beautiful terracotta of a male blowing a conch which may be assigned to the early historic period. The coins being corroded are indeterminate.

    Workers of the Haryana State Electricity Board are said to have obtained fifty gold coins from the mound (*The Sunday Tribune*, June 9, 1985, p. IV, Cols. 5-6) but nothing more is known about these coins.
22. Quite a good number of coins from Gujjar Kheri are now housed in the Gurukul Museum, Jhajjar. Shri A. D. Malik (Chandigarh) also possesses some coins from this site of which a few gold washed silver coins of Sāmantadeva and billion coins of Muḥammad Tughlaq are of special interest.
23. On our visit to the site we learnt that a Sikh gentleman often comes to the site in a posh limousine along with a foreign lady to procure and purchase antiques found from the Gujjar Kheri mound. Numerous sculptures may thus be imagined to have been taken away from Gujjar Kheri to different places in and out of the country by such people.
24. The Śiva Temple at Satkumbha has an image of Sun placed in its compound. It is still unpublished.
25. Pedestal of a Nṛivarāha image, flying *gandharva* and a Gaṇeśa head were noticed by us on 21-2-85 in an improvised shrine (called Khera) at Ahir Majra.
26. The Śiva Mandira at Bulandpur Kheri possesses Pratihāra images of Vishṇu, Mātṛikā, Gaṇeśa, Śiva-Liṅga etc. Tricephalous Brahmā and Vishṇu's disc may be seen studded in a wall of the house belonging to one Mr. Balbir. In Ram Chander's house are fixed a part of an architrave showing *Navagraha* panel and *chaitya* arch pediments. In the premises of Pt. Raghbir Singh may be seen a small, beautiful but unfortunately mutilated figure of Mahishāsuramardinī. See also *IAR*, 1960-61, p. 65.
27. A small portable crudely carved piece representing perhaps Vāmana is now preserved in the village temple while Gaja-Lakshmī with Gaṇeśa on her proper right may be seen enshrined in an improvised shrine just outside the above-mentioned temple.
28. A beautiful Pratihāra image of Umā-Maheśvara from Gujjar Kheri is displayed in the Sculpture Gallery of the National Museum, New Delhi.
29. A large number of sculptures from the site including a tricephalous Brahmā are now preserved in the Gurukul Museum, Jhajjar.
30. Singh, V. N., "Govt. Museum & Art Gallery, Chandigarh : Recent Acquisitions,

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1983-84", *Journal of Indian Museums*, New Delhi, Vol. XXXIX (1983), pp. 194-95 & Fig.

31. The department possesses a fairly large number of sculptures from Gujjar Kheri which include a Gupta *mukha-liṅga*, a late Gupta female and medieval icons of Kārttikeya, Pārvatī, Mahishamardinī, Nandī, Revanta, Vishṇu, Sūrya etc.

32. We express our cordial thanks to Mrs. Malik and her husband Sh. A. D. Malik for having graciously allowed us to study their collection and extending all possible help in this connection.

33. For similar hair and crown see the Sūrya head from Pinjore as illustrated by Shukla, S. P.. *Sculptures And Terracottas In The Archaeological Museum, Kurukshetra University*, Kurukshetra, 1983, p. 17, No. 20, pp. VIII. 2.

34. Handa, Devendra, "Vaishṇava Icons From Haryana", *Research Bulletin (Arts)*, Panjab University, Chandigarh, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (October, 1985). It is, however, notable that Vaikuṇṭha images are also sometimes depicted as borne by Garuḍa.
See Desai, Kalpana, *Iconography of Viṣṇu*, New Delhi, 1973, Figs. 35-40. The present piece may be compared with Vaikuṇṭha in the Jhalawar Museum (Rajasthan) in particular (*Ibid.*, Fig. 39).

35. Agrawal, V. S., "Brahmanical Images in Mathura", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.*, Vol. V. (1937), p. 124.

36. Kramrisch, Stella, *The Hindu Temple*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1946, pp. 403-04; Banerjea, J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 419. Earlier Rao (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. I, New Delhi, 1958, reprint, p. 167) had identified it with Brahmāṇḍa.

37. Trivikrama-Vishṇu from Rājā Karṇa kā Kilā is only a *vyūha* (one of the 24 forms) of Vishṇu. For details see *Annual Report Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p. 89; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI (4), Dec. 1955, p. 21 and J. N. Banerjea in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (Eds. Majumdar, R. C. and Pusalkar, A.D.), Bombay, 1955, p. 335. It has been studied afresh by us and illustrated for the first time. See for illustration Handa (1985), Fig. 9.

38. Cf. Matsya in the Udaipur Museum (Desai, *op. cit.*, Fig. 56).

39. *Ibid.*

40. For sketch drawing of this icon see Shukla, S. P., "Relics of Ancient Art From Pehowa", *Research Bulletin (Arts)*, Panjab University, Chandigarh, Vol. XI (1980), Fig. 5.

41. The image was first noticed by Rodgers, C. J. (*Report Of The Panjab Circle Of The Archaeological Survey For 1888-89*, p. 16) who recognised the heads of both the mother and the child to be that of a dog or a monkey. The face of the child is mutilated but it is certainly a human face and not that of any animal.

42. Shukla (1980) *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74 & Fig. 5.

43. Rodgers (*op. cit.*, p. 20) saw a Kālī image broken into two in the Śītalpurī Temple at Kaithal but nothing is known about it now.

44. Banerja (1956), p. 502.

45. *Ibid.*

46. Cf. Trivedi, R. D., *Iconography Of Pārvatī*, Delhi, 1981, Pls. III-XI.

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Fig. 1. Bust of Vishṇu

Fig. 2, Garudavahi Vishnu

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Fig. 3. Trivikrama Vishṇu

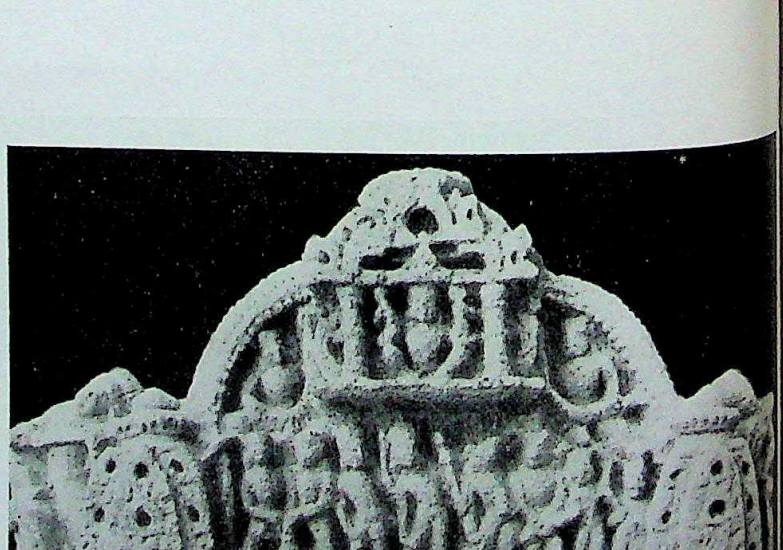

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Fig. 4. Parikara of a Vishṇu image

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Fig. 5. Vishnu's hand with mace

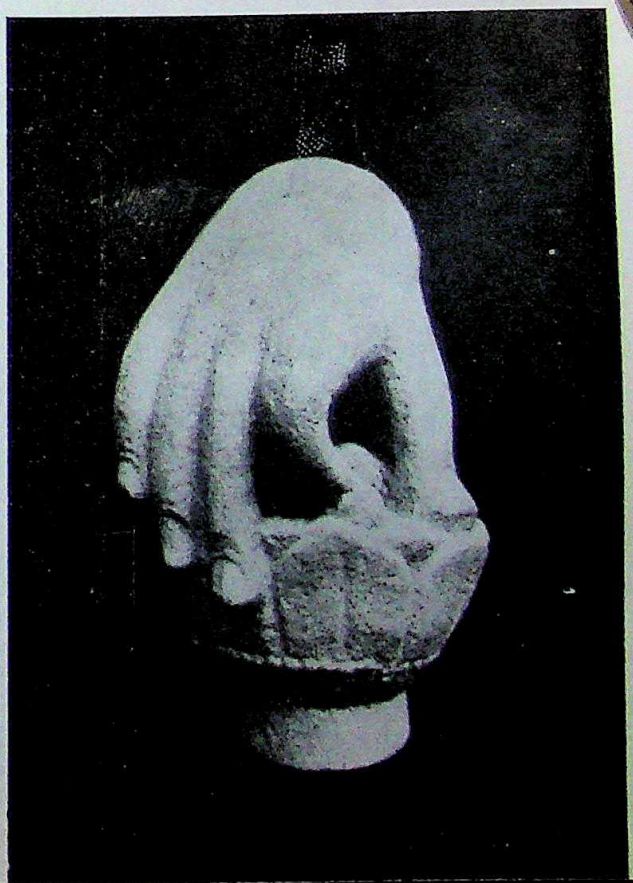

Fig. 6. Vishnu's hand with lotus

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Fig. 7. Hari-Hara

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Fig. 8. Nārasiṁbī

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Fig. 9. Brahmāṇī

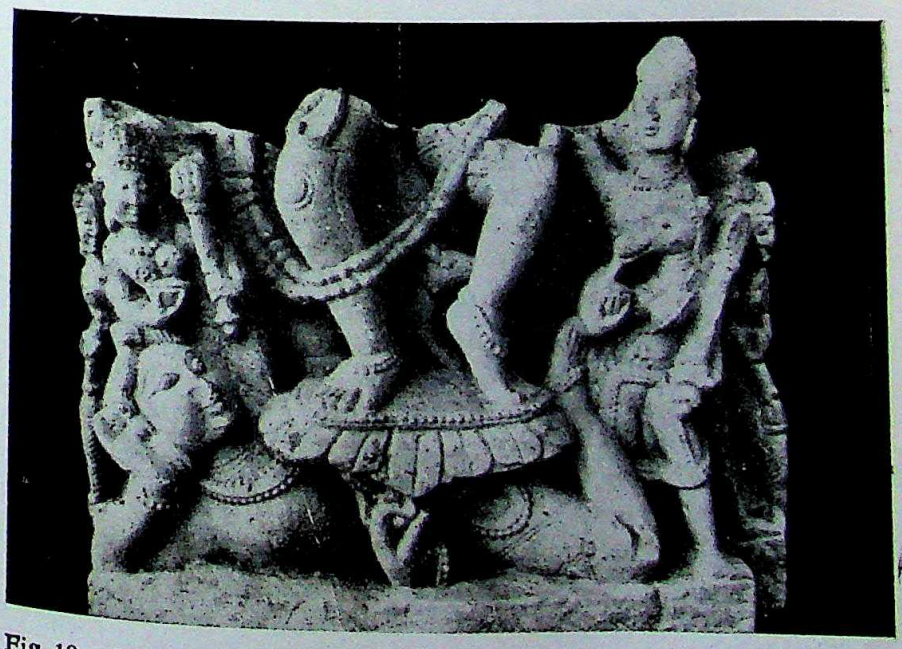

Fig. 10. Chāmuṇḍā

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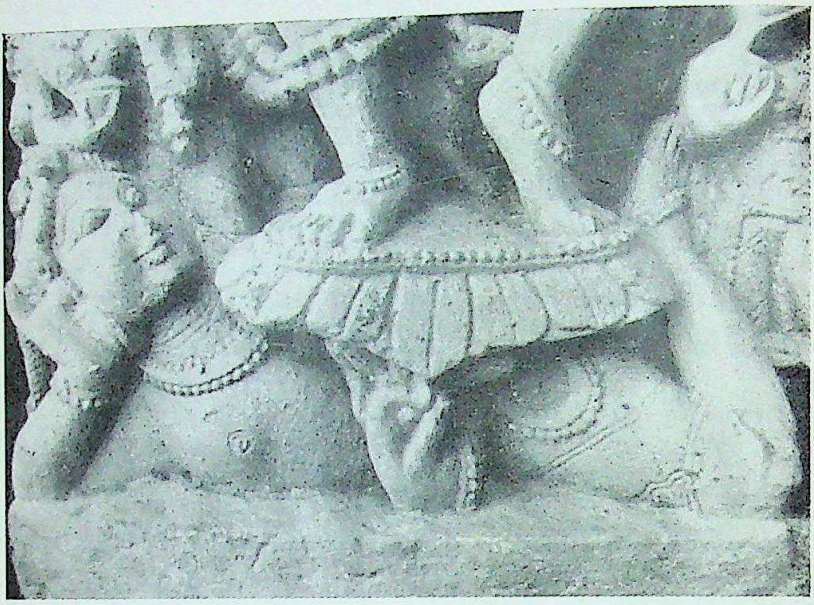

Fig. 10A. Details of Fig. 10.

Fig. 11. Pārvatī

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Fig. 11A. Details of the attendant figures.

Fig. 12. Umā-Maheśvara

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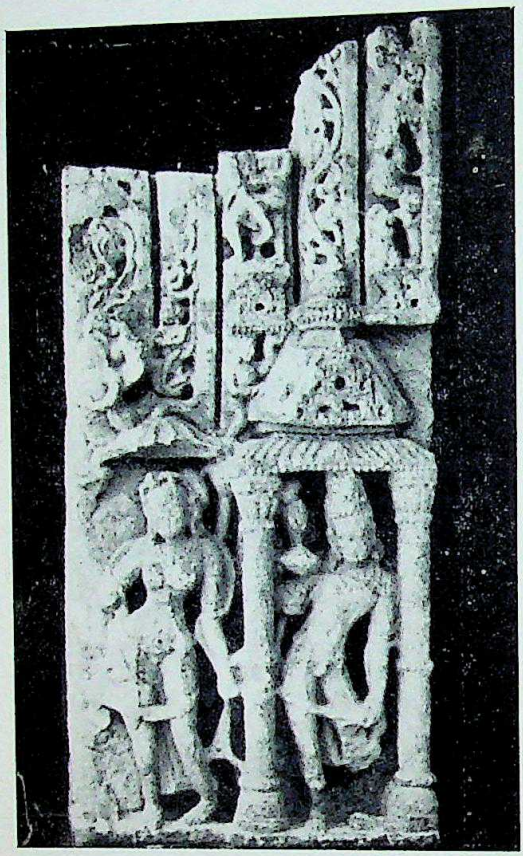

Fig. 13. Doorjamb with River-Goddess

Fig. 13A. Detached bands of the doorjamb

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Fig. 14. Pedyā with an ostiary

Fig. 15. Dancing Ganeśa

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Fig. 16. Kīchaka

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Fig. 17. Devotee

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Fig. 18. Male with a vase

Fig. 18A. Side view of the male figure with vase

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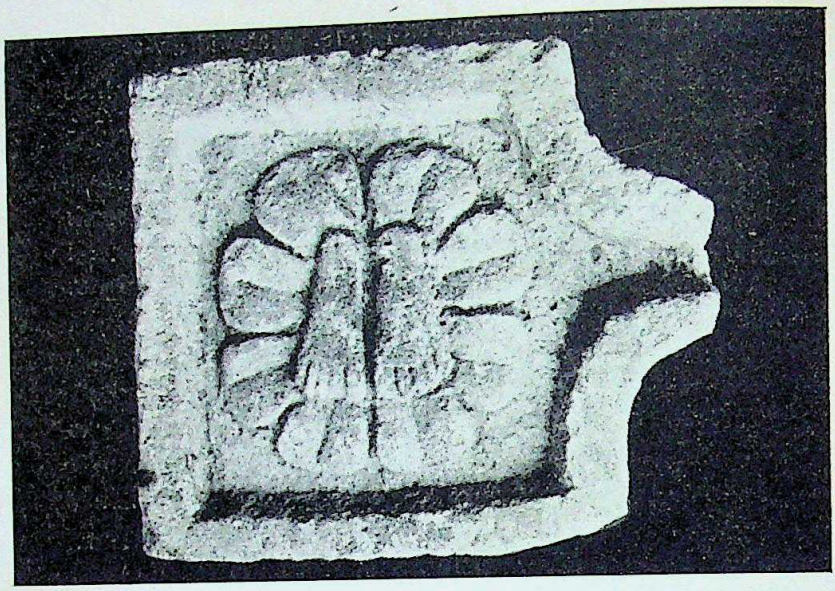

Fig. 19. Charaṇa-Pādukā

Fig. 20. Leogryph

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WOMAN IN PREHISTORY : ANTHROPO-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

K. K. Shah

बाल्ये पितुर्वशे तिष्ठेत्पाणिग्राहस्य यौवने ।
पुत्राणां भर्तरि प्रेते न भजेत्स्त्री स्वतन्त्रताम् ॥[1]

In childhood subject to her father,
in youth to her husband,
and when her husband is dead to her sons,
she should never enjoy independence . . . . . [2]

So said the sage Manu, an early Indian lawgiver. Even if the position reflected herein, is accepted as purely theoretical, the question naturally arises when and how this supremacy of man over woman came to be established, and since all available historical records demonstrate the domination or near-domination of male over female, one has to venture compulsorily into the province of prehistory. That precisely is the aim of the present paper.

Any effort in the realms of prehistoric sociology might appear as building a castle on conjectural foundation but that would be taking too harsh a view of the matter. In one sense, India is a unique land of the world, preserving unconsciously as she does, millennia of her existence throbbing with life and living in laziness. Just for a while if we cast our glances around, History and Prehistory appear to be walking hand in hand merging in the contemporary and flowing to the future. The view might be dismissed as exceedingly romantic and uselessly colourful but the fact remains that if the Vedas of Indian history composed in pre-Christian centuries are still alive in the daily *Saṁskāras* of Hindu Society, no less are so her teeming aborigines inhabiting the length and breadth of the country barely out of their prehistoric nude and mute existence. To take but one example nudeness of Bharias, a tribe of central India, is proverbial—"*Bharia bhwāka, pwānda langwāta*"—the Bharia is verily a devil who only covers his loins with a strip of cloth.[3] He does not bathe for months together. Needless to mention that even the small single piece that he ties round his loins is the

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contribution of his contact with historic Hindu civilization, advancing continually towards him through the ages.

That the present primitive people of India are direct descendants of those who lived in Indian prehistory can be proved by plenty of references to their forefathers in early Indian literature and documents ranging from the dawn of History down to our own times. The name Niṣāda is one of the earliest by which these non-Aryan and pre-Aryan dwellers of India have been known and noted by the early *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhamaṇas*. Occurring in *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*[4] the word has been explained by the famous commentator Mahidhara to mean a Bhīla or Bhilla—a tribe still inhabiting the hills of central India and the Vindhyan tracts. Jhansi stone inscription of Sallakṣansiṁha records the name of Bhīls among the people of Ćandella kingdom.[5] A Niṣāda village has been located in *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtrā*.[6] Weber categorically identifies all Niṣādas as settled aborigines.[7] That they were a tribe of rude culture or aboriginal stock existing outside Aryan organization is attested by the story of Guha narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[8] The Greater Epic refers to a *Niṣāda rāṣṭra* and so also does Varāhamihira[9] showing thereby that in substantial numbers were they settled. The first epigraphic mention of the tribe is available to us from the Junagadh Rock inscription of Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman who is credited in the record with having conquered the Niṣāda country.[10]

Another name standing for the primitive communities of India in early literature is śavaras. If one can read between the lines a statement of *Aitareya Brāhamaṇa*[11] has more to say than meets the eye. It is to the effect that the elder sons of Viśvāmitra were cursed to become progenitors of such servile races as Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śavaras, Pulindas and Mutibas. All the people thus named, have been taken to be non-Aryan dwellers. The *Matsya Purāṇa*[11a] and *Vāyu Purāṇa*[11b] call them *Dakṣiṇāpathavāsinaḥ* Ptolemy[12] too has noted a country called *sabarai* which Cunningham has equated with Pliny's *Surai* identifying both with the aboriginal śavaras living in the woods and jungles without any fixed habitations. The Mutibas have been taken as Dasyus of early Sanskrit works. The Pulindas figure in numerous records and books as also in the geography of Ptolemy who places them on the bank of the Narmada.[13] The *Matsya*[14] and *Vāyu Purāṇas*[15] locote them in the Vindhya and trans-Vindhyan region and Pulindanagar, the capital of the Southern branch of the tribe, has been taken as modern Rūpanāth, a find-spot of Aśokan inscriptions.[16] They have an independent place in Aśokan inscriptions.[17] Navāgrāma charter of Parivrājaka *Mahārāja*

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Hastin refers to a *Pulinda-rāṣṭra*.[18] Even in the 14th century they were important enough to be included in the list of peoples mentioned in the Ajaygadh Rock inscription of Bhojavarman.[19]

The Prāgjyotiṣas were also a non-Aryan tribe inhabiting ancient Assam. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa* contain notices of them. The Epics definitely describe their country as an *Āsura* or *Dānava* Kingdom ruled over by the demons Naraka and Muru.[20]

The Āṭavyas of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[21] and *Matsya Purāṇa*[22] are hardly distinguishable from the Āṭavikas of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of the Gupta Emperor Samundra Gupta.[23] They, too, are taken as aboriginal tribes dwelling in the jungle tracts of central India.

Of the very few non-Aryan tribes finding place in the *Ṛgveda* is one of Kīkaṭas.[24] Yāska in his *Nirukta* says that Kīkaṭa was a non-Aryan country (*Anārya Nivāsa*). The *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* going a step beyond calls it *Pāpa-bhūmi*. Later authorities seem to hold that Kīkaṭa was identical with Magadha.[25]

Perhaps the best and most-beautiful description of these primitive peoples comes from Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*.[26] Graphically painting a word picture he says "how full of folly is their life. . . . For they believe it to be religious rite to make offerings of human flesh. Their food consists of wine, flesh and such things, which are condemned by the good. Their physical exercise is hunting. Their *śāstra* is the howling of jackals. Their advisers of good and bad actions are the owls. Their talent (chiefly) consists in knowing (the ways of) birds. Their acquaintances are dogs. Their kingdom is over the tenantless wilds. A drinking bout is their (chief) festive occasion. Their friends are their bows which serve them in perpetrating cruel deeds. Their helpers are their arrows, with their tips besmeared with poison, and looking like snakes (whose fangs are) full of poison. Their music is such as works havoc among the simple deer. Their wives are other people's women made captive (by them). Their association is with the ferocious-natured tigers. Their worship of the deities is (made) with the blood of wild beasts. Their offerings (to deities) are (made) with flesh. Their sustenance is by pilfering. Their ornaments are the jewels (in the hoods) of snakes. . . . . In whatever forest they may happen to be residing that same forest they entirely tear up by the roots." Bāṇa has definitely kept close to the truth and a few

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of his observations are as true today as in his own time. Till the beginning of the twentieth century Baiga villages were only to be found in places far removed from all cleared and cultivated country. No roads or well-defined paths connected them with ordinary lines of traffic or more thickly inhabited tracts, but perched away in snug corners in the hills and hidden by convenient projecting spurs and dense forests from the country round, they could not be seen except when nearly approached.. ....Indeed, without a Baiga for a guide many of the villages could hardly be discovered, for nothing but occasional notches on the trees distinguished the tracts to them from those of the Sāmbhar and other wild animals.[27] The aboriginal addiction to hunting has survived prehistory as well as history for, the Bhatra tribe even now worship the God of hunting who is known as Mātideo and resides in a separate tree in each village.[28] The Nāgas to the west of the Doyang river in Assam are still truly omnivorous– frogs, lizards, snakes, rats, dogs, monkeys, cats etc. are all delicacies for them and an animal that has died a natural death is as acceptable to them as the best butcher's meat.[29] The Kukis of Kachar have a curious custom after parturition. The child partakes in a feast given after three days of his birth and the mother gives rice to the child from her mouth exactly as birds feed their young ones. This is continued till he is weaned.[30] Many more features can be found in their present life in which they resemble their pristine forefathers. At some unknown date and stage in their existence for a variety of reasons halted their march to civilization and have stood still ever since. Theirs became an "arrested civilization" if one may take the liberty of using this Toynbeean epithet for their civilization, scholars might differ whether their present life is at all worth the word. In fact this very changelessness of their life and society for the past few millennia gives validity to the deductions, or assumptions that we might make for ascertaining the position of woman in prehistoric India.

With a view to making this paper broad-based about twenty five primitive communities have been taken into account basing it on the studies made by competent scholars who came into first hand contact with them or in anyway gathered first hand information. The tribes so selected do not belong to any one part of India and though none of them has complete resemblance with any other of the group, all can be safely classified as aboriginal inhabitants and Indian anthropology treats them as such.

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The ultra-liberal code under which a tribal woman lives is adequately attested by the freedom a tribal girl enjoys in the matter of marriage. The system of bride-price operates almost in every tribe but that in no way barters away her liberty. If an unmarried Bhatra girl becomes pregnant she will simply go and live with her lover without any wedding ceremony. Matches are generally arranged by the Bhatra parents, but if a daughter is not pleased with the prospective bridegroom, who may sometimes be a well-to-do man, much older than herself, she occasionally runs away and goes through the ceremony on her own account with the man of her choice. If no one has asked her parents for her hand she may similarly select a husband and make her wishes known. Similarly a Bhīl girl may also select her own husband though there is the recognised custom of elopement among the tribe at the Tosina fair in the month of the Mahi Kantha. If a Bhil can persuade a girl to cross the river there with him, he may claim her as his wife : but if they are caught before getting across he is liable to be punished by the bride's father.[31] Even after marrying according to her own choice, a Bhil wife is not tied like a cow to her husband. She may desert him any time and go to live with another whose only obligation under the circumstances will be to pay the amount incurred by the first husband on his marriage.

The Bhuiyas are taken to be the earliest residents of Chhota Nagpur. Some of their villages have Dhāngarbāsa or house for maidens, which, strange to say, they are allowed to occupy with none to look after. They appear to have very great liberty and moral lapses are neither frowned upon nor heeded so long as they keep confined to the tribe. The intimacy between the boys and girls thus developed, however, does not conclude in marriage. For this purpose the girls go in a body, taking with them some ground-rice decorated with flowers. They lay this before the elders of the village they have entered, Saying "keep this or throw it into the water as you prefer". The old men pick up the flowers placing them behind their ears. In the evening all the boys of the village come and dance with the girls, with intervals for courtship, half the total number of couples dancing and sitting out alternately. This goes on all night and in the morning any couples who have come to an understanding run away together for a day or two –the boy's father must present a rupee and a piece of cloth to the girl's mother and the marriage is considered to be completed.[32] Among Madhai Bhuiyas the consent of the girl is necessary. The Singphos of Assam too have an institution like Dhāngarbāsa under which the girls of some villages occupy a house appropriated to their use and receive visits

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from young men though here an old woman is put in charge of the house.

The Gonds have many forms of irregular marriages. If a maria Gond girl conceives a child even before marriage through a man of the tribe she simply goes to his house and becomes his wife. This is called Paithu (entering). The man, of course, has to pay the price to her father in addition to the feast for the caste. The Gonds also have a system of Paisa mundi or kept woman and in such a case the relations perform some ceremony to regularise the union. When a Gond couple are very poor, they may simply go and live together without any wedding and perform the ceremony afterwards when they have means.[33] Among the wild Maria Gonds the consent of the girl is considered an essential preliminary to the union. She gives it before a council of elders and, if necessary, she is allowed time to make up her mind.

In Bastar the prospective bride-groom collects a party of his friends and lies in wait for the girl. They catch her when she comes out and gets a little distance from her house. The girl cries out and women of the village come and rescue her and beat the boys with sticks till they have crossed the boundary of the village. The boys neither resist nor retaliate on the women, but simply make off with the girl. When they get home a new cloth is given to her and boys have a carouse on rice-beer. The marriage is considered to be complete.[34] The parents never interfere but as a rule the affair is always prearranged between the girl and her suitor. If she really objects to the match they let her go. A similar procedure occurs in Chanda.

Among the Kasias marriages are made without ceremony. If a proposal of a youth is accepted by the young lady and her parents he simply enters the household of the latter or sometimes visits his wife there occasionally. The Union thus made is easily broken.[35] Likewise a formal ceremony of marriage does not exist among the Abujhmārias. Most of the husbands in Tharu tribe of Uttar Pradesh are henpecked and mortally afraid of their wives. It is said that Tharu women consider it beneath their dignity to dine with their men. They have their meals in the kitchen while men are later fed outside the kitchen.[36] The Chenchus regard men and women as partners with equal rights and men do not mind performing such household duties as are ordinarily performed by women. The Gadbas too have irregular methods of union such as carrying off a girl with the help of friends or paisamundi— when a woman, married or unmarried simply enters the house of a

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man and becomes his wife, and Upaliya—when a married woman elopes with her lover.[37] To quote a contemporary scholar to conclude the point, "Far from the madding crowd, there is a society where if women are weakness of men, then men too are weakness of women. Men and women love on equal footing. There is no malafide, no hypocrisy in their approach to sex and love. They mean what they say and act too."[38] To simplify the matter further, among the primitive people marriage is no sacrament. It is a man-made arrangement between a man and a woman to live together, to raise a family and bring up offsprings with love and care. It is an arrangement which can be terminated, if the parties do not find it suitable or possible to continue.

What is more, remarriage is permissible in majority of the tribes. The widowers, widows and the separated are absolutely free to remarry and they seem to have a greater latitude in choosing their new life-partners, for such alliances are usually informal but the children born are perfectly legitimate. Separations are very frequent in the Kasia tribe of Assam. When the couple agree mutually to part they publicly intimate their wish by throwing away "a few shells taken from each other." In the Maibees of Manipur a man may not put away his wife, but if he does so without a fault on her part, she takes all his personal property except one drinking cup and the cloth round his loins.[39] The Chalikata Mishimis of Assam have hardly any marriage ceremony. The husbands do not expect their wives to be chaste : they take no cognizance of their temporary liaisons so long as they are not deprived of their services. Among the Korkus in case of adultery with a caste member the wife is turned out by the husband and the offending parties have a lock of hair cut off and after hosting a dinner are considered to be married. But if the wife is not turned out, the husband as well as the seducer have to give a joint dinner to the caste.[40]

Widow remarriage among the Gadbas is permitted by what is known as the *ṭikā* form by which a few grains of rice coloured with turmeric are placed on the foreheads of the pair and they are considered as man and wife. The Dhanwārs of central India also permit widow remarriage but do not regard it as real marriage according to the proverb: "A woman cannot be anointed twice with the marriage oil as a wooden cooking vessel cannot be put twice on the fire". A widow married again is called a "*Churiyāhi Dauki*" or "wife made by bangles" as the solitary ceremony associated with the event is completed by putting bangles on her wrists. The Dhobas too permit divorce as well as remarriage. So also do the Bhunjias but a husband in this community

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will often overlook transgressions on the part of his wife and only put her away when her conduct has become an open scandal. In such a case either he will quietly leave the house as well as wife and settle alone in another village or have his wife informed by means of a neighbour that if she does not leave the village he will do so.[41] It is not a custom to bring cases before the tribal committee or to claim damages. A widow among the Bhuiyas is often taken by the younger brother of the deceased husband though no compulsion is exerted on her. Whereas among the Bhīls widow, though permitted to marry, may not marry any relative of her first husband. She returns to her father's house. A Bharia widow is expected to marry her late husband's younger brother, but no compulsion is exerted on her in the matter. So also among the Bhainas who have custom that if the widow marries any other man than her brother-in-law, he must get compensation from her husband. Divorce among the Baigas is effected by the husband and wife breaking a straw in the presence of the caste committee. If the woman remains in the same village and does not marry again the husband is responsible for her maintenance and that of her children.[42]

Perhaps economic independence has as much to do with the women's Lib in primitive communities as the system of bride-price. The tribal women all over India are either self-employed or working girls. They are in no way economically dependent on their men. In fact they are nearly as much bread-earners of the family as their men. In economic pursuits the Abujhmāria husband and wife work hand in hand. When the husband is engaged in felling trees, the wife will be burning the felled trees or spreading ash. The women among the Khamtis of Assam, too, are earners of family bread. When Dalton entered one of their villages he saw them returning from their own farm labour : each women bore an axe and faggot of wood. Perhaps for the same reason the maidens among the lower Nāga tribes are prized more for their physical strength than for beauty or family. The Nāga wives of Upper Assam have to work hard but are otherwise well-treated. They participate with their husbands in all festivities and Social amusements. About Padam tribe of the Abor group in Assam a sympathetic observer has remarked : "In a society, where all except slaves, are equal in rank and where the productive industry of a man and his wife is sufficient to maintain them in all the necessaries and luxuries enjoyed by their neighbours ...fathers and mothers have little occasion to manoevure the matches."[43] The Indian womanhood of educated

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and enlightened civilized society has long looked to the west for lessons in women's Lib blinking their eyes totally to their tribal counterparts in this very land who enjoy much more liberty and equality despite their utter ignorance of the constitution of India which guarantees them these fundamental rights in grandiloquent terms.

The question of bride price has an interesting side to it. Under this system has grown up the practice of Lamsena[44] by which a boy who cannot afford to buy a wife serves his prospective father-in-law for an agreed period. In the Gond tribe it is usually three to five or even six years and at its expiry he is married to the girl without expense. The Bhīls as also the Baigas, recognize this practice and orphan boys often take service for a wife. In Assam tribes the system has led to polyandry. Among the Miris of the Abor group two brothers will unite and from the proceeds of their joint labour buy a wife between them. Dalton has beautifully narrated an incident of a very pretty Dophla girl who had eloped not with one but two young men. Evaluation of bride in the Nāgas west of the Doyang river is done in terms of cows, pigs, fowls or drink, whereas a suitor in the Nāgas of Upper Assam, in addition to the price, has to present the would be wife with a gory token of his love without which marriage cannot be solemnized. The practice of serving for wife is also prevalent among them The Kaupuis of Assam go a step further. They observe a singular practice of recovering from the bereaved husband the price of her bones by her father or next of the kin. This is called Mūndū but no Mūndū is demandable when the death is by the hand of an enemy, by wild beasts, by cholera or small pox or from any swelling.[45] The Kukis of Kachar prescribe a bondage of two years for the prospective son-in-law. It may be pointed out here that early Hindu law givers have recognized all these forms of marriage either to accommodate some of these non-Aryan orders into Hindu society or perhaps they are a survival from the prehistoric past of the Aryans themselves. The *Gandharva* marriage of the Hindu lawbooks is by the consent of two parties which might be solemnized merely by plighting troth: the *Asura* is marriage by purchase; the *Rākṣasa* is marriage by capture; and the *Paiśāca* is hardly a marriage at all, it simply being a seduction of the girl while asleep, mentally deranged or drunk[46]. Dr. V C. Pandey is of the view that these marriages were recognized out of consideration for the children of such unions and to give them a legal status in society.

Going by the broad survey done above one can safely conclude that

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prehistoric woman of India was neither subjected to purdah nor to infanticide as was the case with her historical counterpart. About the custom of sati one cannot be absolutely sure but instances must have been few and far between in comparison with those occurring in the post-Gupta India. She enjoyed complete equality and limitless liberty viewed from present standpoint. And if we walk a little more on the road we have been treading we discern a stage in prehistory when the society was to the same extent female-dominated to which it is male-dominated today Let us analyse our data.

In the long and painful process of evolution human society developed two most important and universal features of totemism and exogamy. The usual characteristics of totemism are that members of a clan regard themselves as related to or descended from the animal or tree from which the clan takes its name and abstain from killing or eating it. To this day the members of the Gawad (cowdung) clan will not burn cowdung cakes for fuel and those of the Mirchā clan do not use chillies.[47]

Totemism establishes a relation of kingship between persons belonging to one class who are not related by blood and exogamy prescribes that the person held to be so related shall not intermarry. At first sexual promiscuity prevailed in the clan to which we have many references. Bachofan was the first modern scholar to bring to light traces of promiscuous intercourse in historical and religious traditions.[48] The Epic and Purāṇic traditions state that formerly there existed a state of promiscuity when children could be produced merely by *Saṃkalpa*, the desire to cohabit.[49] The *Śānti Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*[50] and the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[51] state that in the Kṛta age there was neither mating nor recognised monogamous marriage system. About the land of the Uttara Kurus the epic says there did not exist the institutions of marriage. Even a Buddhist tradition confirms "There do men live calling no goods their own—Nor as their chattels any womenkind."[52] The rule of exogamy has its origin in this very state. It must have been observed that only a minority even of healthy children survived and the slight congenital weakness produced by inbreeding might apparently be fatal to child's chance of life. Some dim perception may have been obtained of the different fates of the children of women who restricted their sexual relations to men within the clan and of those who resorted to strangers, even though the fact of paternity may not have been understood. Novelty in sexual attraction may also have been a factor in the development since, according to common observation and experience, sexual love

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or desire is more easily excited between strangers or slight acquaintances than between those who have lived together in the same household or in familiar intercourse. Among the few instances reminiscent of sexual promiscuity belonging to the pre-exogamy period of prehistory may be quoted that of the Pahāriā Korwas who are known to marry their own sisters on some occasions.

The instinct of exogamy first developed in the totem clan when it was migratory and lived by hunting. Primitive peoples attach utmost importance to the rule, the Gonds affirming that their divine hero Lingo introduced it and divided the Tribe into clans long before he went to the gods. At first, however, the exogamous clan was not constituted by descent through males but through females.

The hypothesis that female everywhere preceded male is strongly supported by natural probability. Parentage of children in the hoary past was no more observed and remembered than that of animals. The first notice was necessarily through the mother, the identity of the father being wholly uncertain. As a matter of fact one European scholar has very clearly shown that even now some of the Australian aborigines are ignorant of the physical fact of paternity and its relation to sexual intercourse.[53] The mother, otherwise too, would be the first parent to remember her children, affection for them being based on one of the strongest natural instincts whereas the father neither knew nor cared for his children until long afterwards. That such ignorance could have survived so long as in the case of Australian aborigines noted above, is the strongest evidence in favour of the universal priority of female to male descent.

In the exogamous clan with female descent no regard was paid to the chastity of women and they could select their partners as they pleased. From the survey of primitive Indian tribes we have done above, one fact very clearly emerges telling us that the chastity of women is neither enforced nor desired by the men, and obviously it is a relic of the period of female descent.

The practice of Lamsena of serving for a wife also seems to be such a relic dating from the time of female descent. When Jacob served for Leah and Rachel society seems to have been in the early patriarchal stage as Laban was their father and he was Laban's sister's son.[54] But it seems doubtful whether his right was then recognised to take his wives away with him for even after he had served fourteen years, Laban pursued him

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and would have taken them back but for the divine intervention. The episode relating to Rachel's theft of the images is similarly an indication in the same direction as she intended to take her own household gods with her and not to adopt those of her husband's house. To come back on the Indian scene, the Kasias of Assam never allow the remains of a man and his wife to be mingled as it is a thought that they belong to different tribes. A husband is, therefore, on his death separated from his wife and children as the latter belong to the tribe of mother and their ashes are deposited with hers. As it is through the mother that children inherit and that the transmission of the pure blood of a tribe is secured, it is not surprising to find that this connection between the mother and her offspring is maintained after death.[55]

The Banjārās of India oblige a man to go and live with his wife's father for a month. Bharia youth serving for his wife is known as Ghargiān. The work given to him is always very heavy and the tribe has a proverb which compares the treatment meted out to him to that of an ox obtained on hire. It is evident that this prehistoric pratice of serving for a wife now largely survives in the system of purchase legalised even by the Hindu lawgivers.

Another survival of the period can be read into the special relationship existing in some of the tribes between a man and his sister's children. It issued out of the situation when a woman's children under the rule of female descent belonged to her own family and her husband or partner in sexual relations had no proprietory right or authority over them, such place and authority belonging to the mother's brother or brothers. Among the Halbas a marriage is commonly arranged when practicable between a brother's daughter and sister's son. A man always shows some special regard and respect for his sister's son, touching the latter's feet as of a superior. Whenever he desires to make a gift as an offering of thanks and atonement or as an act of great merit, the sister's son is always the recipient. More or less same is the nature of this relationship among the Bhunjias and Kamāras. He will never chastise his sister's children however much they may deserve it and he will not permit his sister's son or daughter to eat from the dish from which he eats.[56] Actually the Kunbis have a saying : "At the sister's house the brother's daughter is a daughter in-law". The Gonds figuratively or perhaps factually call it 'Dudh lautana' or bringing back the milk. It is difficult to explain in the present context though one could take it as a relic of the matriarchal society in which sister's son was to become his heir. An interesting fact of the

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whole matter is that when language was first invented, a special name was often reserved for the mother's brother in terms of relationship[37] whereas all other uncles and aunts had hardly more than common designation of father and mother. At a time when he stood in the relation of protector or parent to the child, quite naturally such a name must have been invented.

Hypothetically, of course, a Manu of prehistoric India could well have composed the couplet.

In childhod subject to his mother
in youth to his wife
and when his wife was dead to his daughter,
he should never enjoy independence.

Bearing in mind the facts noted and discussed above one could walk a little more and agree with the brilliant thesis of Dr. Margaret Murry who has traced the genesis of religion in the motherhood of early woman and as the premises with which she has developed her thesis are universal, the conclusion arrived at is equally true of the dawning of religious consciousness in early Indian society. In substance her view is when the difference between the Animal and the Human was firmly established the evidence shows that the human beings lived in small groups, probably women and children only. This is a natural result of the difference between the sexes, the women requiring safety and quiet during pregnancy and childbirth and the infants requiring similar conditions until strong enough to protect themselves. One can come upon such settlements of women in the Greek legends of Amazons. Until the part of the male parent was known and fully recognised, the woman was regarded as the sole origin of the child which she produced from her body without any apparent cause and when the child was actually delivered she produced also without any apparent cause the food to nourish it The concept and ideal of fatherhood being quite a late phenomenon associated mostly with the beginning of settled family life, in every ancient religion female deity preceded the male ones. To conclude the point Dr. Murray argues that the origin of religion is ascribable to the first awareness of an unseen power which being reflected in the inexplicable methods of transmitting life came to woman. The fact that pregnancy rather than birth was the most important factor in early religions may be seen continually. The palaeolithic figures of women represent the expectant mother, not the mother with the baby in her arms. Even the female animals in the painted caves of prehistoric past are almost always depicted as pregnant. In the

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predynastic Egyptian deity Ta Urf represented as a female hippopotamus one can get confirmation.[58] It may be noted that though all major deities of India are male, the little local deities are female whose worship has been carried on from times immemorial.

The transition from female to male descent was most probably associated with the stage when full recognitions was accorded to the physical fact of paternity. This may not have been contemporaneous in all or even majority of the societies but it would seem that the former was in most cases the logical outcome of the latter, regard being also had to the man's natural function as protector of the family and in some cases provider of its sustenance. But this transition from female to male kinship was social revolution of the first importance. Under the earlier system there was generally no transfer of clanship both the woman and her partner or husband retaining their own clans.[59] With the new system of male descent also began the practice of transferring a woman from her clan to that of her husband.

The view seems to have been long held that this transfer could only be effected by violence or capture, the manner in which presumably it was first practised. Marriage by capture is very widely prevalent among savage races. Even where the custom has given place to more peaceable methods of procuring a wife survivals commonly occur. We have already noted above how in some tribes of India a girl is kidnapped by the prospective suitor with the help of his friends even though the girl is willing and her parents do not object. The Kolams of Wardha have this system. A regular part of the marriage procedure among some tribes is that the girl should weep formally for some hours or a day before the wedding. In fact she is also taught to cry in the proper note.[60] Another feature of the event is that the bride hides somewhere and has to be found or carried off by the bridegroom or his brother. This ritualistic display of grief as well as coyness is intriguing. A suggestion may be made that the procedure really indicates the girl's reluctance to be severed from her own clan and transferred to another and that the sentiment is a survival of the resistance to marriage by capture which was at first imposed on the women from loyalty to the clan totem and its common life, and had hardly anything to do with the conjugal relationship of marriage. Gradually in course of time out of this procedure developed the sexual modesty of women which had been non-existent in the matriarchal condition of society. The Chamars of Bilaspur have sham fights on

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the approach of the wedding party and in most Hindu castes the bridegroom on his arrival performs some militant action such as striking the marriageshed or breaking of one of its festoons. Subsequent to the ceremony the bride is invariably sent home with the bridegroom's party for a few days even though she may be a child and the consummation of the marriage impossible. This may be in memory of her having formerly been carried off. When the custom of capture died down, it was succeeded by the milder form of elopement; other alternatives being sale or exchange of the bride against a girl from the bridegroom's family or clan. A relic of some such formal transfer has survived down the centuries such as *Kanyāadāna* or gift of the Virgin, the Roman *traditio in manum* or her transfer from her father's to her husband's power.

In the light of analysis made above one can understand why the terms father-in-law and brother-in-law are regarded as opprobrious because they originally implied not merely that the speaker had married the daughter or sister of the person addressed but had married her forcibly thereby placing him in a position of inferiority. A Rājput formerly felt it derogatory that any man should address him either as father-in-law or brother-in-law. This view might partly account for the wide prevalence of the inhuman practice of female infanticide. It also explains incidentally why a Brāhmaṇa or Rājput thought it essential to marry his daughter into a clan or family higher in status than his, mitigating thereby the disgrace attached to having his daughter taken from him by what had originally been an act of force.

Thus the data collected and presented in this paper in all humility and honesty seeks to show how the present position of woman in India has grown out to be what it is and in which way it is different from her prehistoric counterpart.

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बालया वा युवत्या वा वृद्धया वाऽपि योषिता ।
न स्वातन्त्र्येण कर्त्तव्यं किंचित्कार्यं गृहेष्वपि ॥ 145 ॥
विशील: कामवृत्तो वा गुणैर्वा परिवर्जित: ।
उपचार्य: स्त्रिया साध्व्या सततं देववत्पति: ॥ 152 ॥

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4. XVI, 27.
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7. Vide Law, B. C., *Tribes in Ancient India*, Bhandarkar Oriental Series-4 (First edition), Poona 1943, p. 98.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 99 As a matter of fact it is generally believed that the Lesser Epic itself owes its composition to the inspiration which the poet received from an episode associated with a Niṣāda hunter and the śloka is taken to be first in the Sanskrit literature.

   मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।
   यत्क्रौंचमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम् ।। Bālakāṇḍa, Sarga, 2, 15.

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23. Pande, *Op. cit.*, p. 74.
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   अहोः मोहप्रायमेतेषां जीवितं साधुजनविगर्हितं च चरितम् । तथा हि। पुरुषपिशितोपहारे धर्मबुद्धिः । आहारः साधुजननिन्दितो मधुमांसादिः । श्रमो मृगया । शास्त्रं शिवारुतम् । समुपदेष्टारः सदसतां कौशिकाः । प्रज्ञा शकुनिज्ञानम् । परिचिताः श्वानः । राज्यं शून्यास्वटवीषु । आपानकमुत्सवः । मित्राणि क्रूरकर्मसाधनानि धनूंषि । सहाया विषदिग्धमुखा भुजंगा इव सायकाः ।

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गीतमुत्सादकारि मुग्धमृगाणाम् । कलत्राणि बन्दीगृहीताः परयोषितः । क्रूरात्मभिः शार्दूलैः सह संवासः । पशुरुधिरेण देवतार्चनम् । मांसेन बलिकर्म । चौर्येण जीवनम् । भूषणानि भुजंगमणयः । वनगजमदैरंगरागः । यस्मिन्नेव कानने निवसन्ति तदेवोत्खात-मूलमशेषतः कुर्वते ।

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THE PLACE OF GHAṬOTKACHAGUPTA IN THE GUPTA HISTORY

Ashvini Agrawal

The discovery of a clay-sealing from Basarh in 1903-04, brought the name of Ghaṭotkachagupta to the notice of historians for the first time[1]. As the sealing was found amongst those of the chief queen Dhruvasvāminī, wife of Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta II and sealings of *yuvarāja* and other officers connected with the administration, it can naturally be inferred that he was a member of the Gupta royal family. T. Bloch, who discovered this sealing identified Ghaṭotkachagupta mentioned in it with Ghaṭotkacha, the father of Chandragupta I[2]. It was accepted by V A. Smith[3]; but this identification cannot be upheld for the simple reason that Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha, the second ruler of the Gupta dynasty has never been mentioned with the suffix Gupta added to his name in any of the inscriptions of his successors. D. R. Bhandarkar has further pointed out in this connection that all the sealings discovered along with this seal belong to the time of Chandragupta II and his son Govindagupta and the place from where they have been discovered was apparently the office of the Repository of the official seals at that time. It is highly unlikely that he had a sealing, approximately a century old amongst these seals, specially when no seal of intermediary period has been found from there.[4]

An inscription discovered from Tumain in Madhya Pradesh by M. B. Garde in 1919 has thrown further light on Ghaṭotkachagupta[5]. The record which is dated in the year 116 of the Gupta era refers to the sovereign rule of Kumāragupta. In line three of this inscription, there is a mention of Ghaṭotkachagupta, who has been compared to the moon, 'having a network of rays in the form of the multitude of his good qualities' and is said to have attained the fame of his ancestors, having earned it by the prowess of his own arms[6]. As the inscription is very much damaged it is not possible to form an exact idea of Ghaṭotkachagupta's relation to Kumāragupta nor about the position he held. But the way he has been eulogised in the inscription, there can be no doubt that he was a prince of the imperial Gupta family holding a key-position in

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this region. Probably he was a son of Kumāragupta governing the province of Airikiṇa.[7] The close proximity in time of the Tumain inscription and the Basarh seal tends to show that they refer to one and the same person.

The epigraphic evidence cited above does not indicate that Ghaṭotkachagupta ever attained imperial power. However, the discovery of two Archer-type gold coins, with Ghaṭo written under the left arm of the king and *Kramāditya* on the reverse,[8] shows that he must have assumed royal authority for sometime, however brief might have been the duration of his rule. B. P. Sinha is of the view that it was at the time when Skandagupta was still fighting with the Pushyamitras and the Hūṇas, that Kumāragupta had died. In the absence of Skandagupta, when Purugupta declared himself king at Pāṭaliputra, Ghaṭotkachagupta also proclaimed himself as an independent ruler in Eastern Malwa, and struck coins as a visible symbol of the royal authority[9]. S. R. Goyal[10] and P. L. Gupta[11] have agreed with Sinha, postulating that there was a war of succession amongst the sons of Kumāragupta I, after the latter's death. However, such a view is totally unwarranted, as there was no war of succession and Skandagupa ascended the throne without any opposition. The whole theory of a war between Skandagupta and his brothers has been constructed on misinterpretation of certain verses in the Bhitari Pillar inscription and the Junagadh Rock inscription.

In the sixth verse of the Bhitari Pillar inscription[12] it is said that "He (Skandagupta), who had vanquished his enemies by the valour of his arms, when his father had reached the heaven, having firmly established the royal fortune of his dynasty—which had been ravished, approached his mother, who had tears in her eyes on account of the complete satisfaction that victory had been attained; just as Kṛishṇa who had slain his enemies, approached Devakī". Sinha and others think that the enemies who had been vanquished by Skandagupta were his brothers, who had perhaps a more legitimate claim to the throne. As a matter of fact the Bhitari inscription itself informs us that the enemies who had made the royal fortune of the Guptas to totter, were not the scions of the royal family itself, but were entirely different people. They were the Pushyamitras[13] mentioned in verse 4 and the Hūṇas who are mentioned in the verse eight. We are told in this inscription that the struggle with the Pushyamitras was so severe that Skandagupta had to pass one night on bare ground. Similarly, verse 8 informs us that the earth was shaken by Skandagupta's arms when he clashed with the Hūṇas in battle. It

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was these terrific struggles which are described as the effort of Skandagupta to stabilize the tottering royal fortunes of the Guptas. Therefore, the reference to the victory mentioned in verse 6 clearly has reference to the Pushyamitras and the Hūṇas and not at all to any collaterals.

The absence of the name of Skandagupta's mother in the Bhitari Pillar inscription is another point from which it has been inferred that he was not a legitimate heir to the Gupta throne, which led to a war of succession. H. C. Raychaudhuri[14] has pointed out that there was no rule prohibiting the accession of those who were not born of the chief queen. He has also given a number of instances where the name of the mothers of ruling kings was omitted, although they were *Mahādevis*. In this regard Jagannath Agrawal[15] has also pointed out that there is nothing in the inscription which may indicate that the mother of Skandagupta was not a *Mahādevī*. He further says that the omission of Skandagupta's mother's name is accidental and not intentional.

It has been further argued by those who support the theory of a war of succession, that in the Junagadh Rock inscription it is said that the goddess of royal fortune herself selected Skandagupta having rejected all the other sons of the king after taking into consideration the causes of virtues and faults. They take this voluntary choice of the goddess Lakshmī as tentamount to their having been defeated in a war for the throne. However it is not the right inference. In Sanskrit poetry we come across expressions like the one relied upon by them in many other places where no such conflict is involved. A very familiar instance is to be met with in the Eran inscription of Budhagupta dated the year 165[16], where it is said about Mātṛivishṇu, the commissioner of Eran, that he was selected by the royal fortune of her own choice. Therefore the real intention of the author of the Junagadh Rock inscription is to emphasize the excellence of the qualities of Skandagupta and it was far from his mind to refer to any confrontation between Skandagupta and his brothers.

There are other considerations which go against not only the suggestion of a fratricidal war but also of any possibility of an intervening king between Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. From the Junagadh Rock inscription of the year 136, we learn that the flood that destroyed the dam on the Sudarśana lake took place in August 455 A.D. (The Gupta year 136, month of *Praushṭhapāda*). Before that date Skandagupta had not only repulsed the Hūṇas and his fame had spread in the

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barbarian lands, but he had also reorganised the entire administration by appointing officers like Parṇadatta and Chakrapālita in Surāshṭra. Since the last date on the silver coins of Kumāragupta I is 135 (even if we exclude the coin with date 136, mentioned by Smith), it leaves us a few months in which to accommodate the conclusion of the Hūṇa war, the quelling of the Pushyamitra rebellion and the reorganisation of the entire administration. Does it stand to reason that during this short period Ghaṭotkachagupta was able to seize the throne and issue gold coins in his own name by putting up a fight against Skandagupta, who had become a national hero by vanquishing formidable foes ? It must not be overlooked that for aught we know, Ghaṭotkacha was a governor in Central India and his territories lay on the direct route from Pāṭaliputra to Surāshṭra.

However, P. L. Gupta maintains that the silver coins with dates 135 and 136 do not exist at all[17], and Kumāragupta must have died soon after the Gupta year 130. He claims that he himself has examined the coin on which Smith had read 136, and is very sure that the symbol of six does not exist on it. He further says that the two coins mentioned by Smith with the date 135 do not exist at all. Not only this, he further cites the authority of John Allan and says that the latter had read the last date on the coins of Kumāragupta in this collection as 124[18]. But it is clear that P. L. Gupta has not only failed to read the dates correctly but has also failed to see the exact readings given by Allan in his catalogue. On coin no: 385 in BMC. GD, Allan[19] has clearly read 135 and this reading has been accepted by A. S. Altekar[20]. We have examined the plate of this coin and find that there can be no doubt in the correctness of this reading. These facts alone are enough to pull down the theory of P. L. Gupta. One may further question his reading on the coin mentioned by Smith with the reading 136, as P. L. Gupta has himself admitted that he found some indistinct symbol after the symbol of 30 which could not be read by him. Smith may very well be right in reading it as six and giving the date 136.

Since we have well established now that there is no place for Ghaṭotkachagupta between Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, we must further investigate as to when the former came to the throne. The evidence of his two gold coins should thus be critically examined to arrive at the right conclusion. Their weight standard i.e. 141.22 grains and 135.5 grains respectively, clearly indicates that their issuer came to the throne after Skandagupta, who was the first Gupta monarch to issue

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gold coins of heavy weight standard i e 132 grains and 144 grains[21]. The coins of Ghaṭotkachagupta therefore clearly belong to the post Skandagupta period. In fact Allan had pointed it out long ago that the coin of Ghaṭotkachagupta should be placed along with the coins of Kumāragupta II, since they resemble in style, specially the treatment of legs of the goddess on the reverse of these coins Allan was absolutely right in his conclusion. Since only one more Kumāragupta i.e. the son of Narasiṁhagupta was known at that time besides Kumāragupta I, Allan placed these coins in the last decades of the fifth century A.D. However, with the discovery of the Sarnath Buddha image inscription dated 154, another Kumāragupta has been added to the list of the imperial Gupta rulers, who ruled between Skandagupta and Budhagupta i.e. between the Gupta years 148 and 157. He has been rightly called Kumāragupta II and the coins referred to by Allan can be attributed to him. It *ipso facto* means that according to his coins Ghaṭotkachagupta should be placed somewhere between the Gupta years 148 and 157.

It is a well known fact that Skandagupta had another brother Purugupta, who has been called Mahārājādhirāja in the Bhitari seal and the Nalanda sealings of his successors. It means he also ruled for some time apparently after the death of Skandagupta. Now, it seems highly probable that Skandagupta died without leaving any heir to the throne which resulted in a contest for the royal power amongst his brothers Purugupta and Ghaṭotkachagupta and perhaps his nephews also. It was at this time that Ghaṭotakachagupta was able to capture power for some time and issued these gold coins of Archer type. Since both Purugupta and Ghaṭotkachagupta must have been in advanced years of their age at this time, it accounts for three successive reigns in the short period of nine years i.e. between 148 and 157, with Ghaṭotkachagupta, Purugupta and Kumāragupta II ruling one after the other.

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2. *Ibid.*
3. JRAS, 1905, 152-53.
4. Chhabra, B. Ch., CII, III, 295.
5. EI, XXVI, 117 f.
6. Chhabra, B. Ch, CII, III, 278.
7. *Ibid.*, 277-78.
8. The first coin which was reported by J. Allan in BMC. GD, is preserved in the

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Leningrad Museum, U.S.S.R. and weighs 141.22 grains. The second coin weighing 135.5 grains is in the private collection of Ajit Ghosh, who published it in JNSI, XXII, 260.

9. Dynastic History of Magadha, 6 ff.
10. History of the Imperial Guptas, 311 ff.
11. *Gupta Sāmrājya* (in Hindi), 178 ff.
12. Chhabra, B. Ch., op.cit., 315.
13. Following the reading—*Yudhyamitrān* suggested by H. R. Divekar, writers in Gupta history now doubt the existence of the political power of the Pushyamitras. But after a careful examination of the original stone pillar at Bhitari, as well as an excellent estampage Jagannath Agrawal upholds Fleet's reading Pushyamitras. See, IHQ, XXII, 112 ff.
14. PHAI, 504 f.
15. ABORI, XLVIII-XLIX, 325 ff.
16. Chhabra, B. Ch., op.cit., 340-41.
17. *Gupta Sāmrājya*, 179 ff.
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19. BMC. GD., 107, Plate XVIII, 1.
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DISSENSIONS IN THE MUGHAL NOBILITY AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE REIGN OF AKBAR

Prit Pal Singh Bedi

Internal dissensions have been the bane of many a political system. These can prove detrimental and disastrous depending upon their nature and magnitude. Such distractions have their roots, generally, in personal rivalries, religious bigotry and racial animosities. These elements exercise an irrepressible influence on the behaviour of man. The reign of Akbar too had its share of such dissensions. The emergence of his reign synchronised with an exquisite synthesis of Mughal nobility comprising of various religious and racial groups. Such a dispensation could not be absolutely harmonious. Occasionally racial jealousies cropped up and personalities clashed. These retarded the growth of the empire besides its suffering an ignominous loss in men, money and prestige. Since the external forces had no chance to succeed and since Akbar commanded a great hold, these undercurrents have gone unnoticed. An attempt is sought to be made here to study the impact of personal and racial dissensions which did occur in the reign of Akbar but have remained unattended.

Various expeditions launched for either effecting conquests or for suppression of rebellions, throw up glaring instances of insubordination or half-hearted involvement on the part of nobles.

In 1572, Munim Khan, Khan-i-Khan, a prominent noble of Turani origin, was placed in Supreme Command for the conquest of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Mughals had to wage a long-drawn struggle before they could subdue the Afghans. A number of skirmishes and battles were fought at different places in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In one such encounter Munim Khan appointed Muhammad Quli Khan, one of his lieutenants to attack Daud, the ruler of Bengal, who had taken shelter in Orissa. Unfortunately Muhammad Quli Khan died before he could take on Daud. Qiya Khan, another important noble who was on animosity with Munim Khan, was elected by his partisans as their leader. Rather than carrying on the offensive, they decided to retreat to the Court[1]. They relented to fight and that too half-heartedly only after Munim Khan,

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on the advice of Raja Todar Mal, paid them handsome amount of money[2]. Daud Khan, who was in a helpless situation, encouraged by the division among the Mughal soldiers, once again decided to give a fight. The Mughal soldiers, who were still reluctant to fight, could be brought to the right course by the exertions of Raja Todar Mal and Munim Khan supported by the Royal Farmans[3]. The battle which was fought at Takaroi came out to be very fierce. Alam Khan, an important Mughal noble, lost his life; another noble Lashkar Khan was wounded so seriously that he died after a few days. Munim Khan himself received wounds on his head, neck and shoulders. His eye sight was affected and he could never hereafter, turn his neck properly[4]. These happenings show that whereas the Mughal soldiers capitalised on the enmity between the nobles, these also contributed to the daring of the enemy who might well have dislodged the Mughals.

Next Muzaffar Khan Turbati, an Irani noble and a person known for his financial acumen, was deputed by Akbar to capture the fort of Rohtas. Muzaffar Khan gained some very impressive victories over the Afghans. He had to encounter them at various places in Bihar and where others suffered in life and property he made a short work of the Afghans exhibiting an enormous amount of courage and intelligence. In doing so, however, he roused the jealousy of Munim Khan and his men. Either the agents of Munim Khan did not fight or Munim Khan prevented them from supporting Muzaffar Khan.

Muzaffar Khan Turbati on his arrival in Bihar captured Sasaram and Chaund. He defeated Bahadur Khan an Afghan soldier who came out of the fort of Rohtas and captured his elephants[5]. He then put to rout the Afghans around the fort of Rohtas. Adham Khan of Ibrahimpur and Darya Khan Kashi of Chakran took to flight to Jharkhand[6]. But, thereafter, the enthusiasm of the men of Munim Khan died down. They backed out and compelled Muzaffar Khan to fall back on Sasaram and Chaund. Since these two towns had been occupied by the Afghans, in his absence, he had to fight for their possession second time[7].

At another time Afghan brothers Haji Khan and Ghazi Khan of Jharkhand captured the fort at Maher and put Mughal soldiers to sword. They also killed about a hundred Rajputs who fought against them under Raja Bhagwan Das. The Mughal soldiers who had deserted Muzaffar Khan requisitioned his help. Muzaffar Khan readily agreed. Once again, however, Munim Khan restrained his men from joining the battle, since Jumaid, an Afghan leader of Jharkhand, was coming to the support

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of Haji Khan and Ghazi Khan. A letter from Munim Khan directed them to wait for further help[8] : Munim Khan's men became passive and did not listen to the advice of Muzaffar Khan. Later on, when Junaid Khan attacked Bihar, the Mughal officers at Patna asked Muzaffar Khan to help them. Muzaffar Khan joined them. Munim Khan once again restrained his men and they decided to remain idle. Muzaffar Khan's advice fell on deaf ears. However, Muzaffar Khan gained some impossible victories against Afghans on Gandak river and captured Hajipur which was allotted to him as Jagir and which the Afghans had taken under their possession. He fought and won another battle against the Afghans at Tengra[9].

All these victories, however, roused jealousy in the heart of Munim Khan. Since he was supreme in Command, he ordered Muzaffar Khan to return to the court. This caused great disappointment to Muzaffar Khan. He could not resist the order because he had been advised by the emperor to return to the court when Munim Khan willed it so. However, his efforts were appreciated by the emperor and he was allowed to stay back in Bihar and to guard areas between Chausa and Garhi. The soldiers of that province were advised to obey Muzaffar Khan[10].

Thus it will be seen that imperial interests were relegated to the secondary position to the personal and racial interests. The racial factor is clearly visible. Munim Khan was a *Turani* while Muzaffar Khan was an *Irani*. Munim Khan could not tolerate his rise. Since Munim Khan was vested with the Supreme Command, he caused dismay to Muzaffar Khan and put impediments in his way. Such activities on the part of Mughal nobles provided lease of life to the Afghans on a number of times. They received respite to recoup and reorganized themselves for further struggle. The result was that the struggle continued for a very long time and Munim Khan could not complete his mission in his life time.

After the death of Munim Khan, Khan-i-Jahan was given the command of the Mughal army in Bengal. Since Khan-i-Jahan was a Qizalbash and majority of the Mughal soldiers in Bengal were Chagtai Turks, he could not get their whole-hearted support. Khan-i-Jahan decided to engage Daud at Akmahal. The Mughal soldiers refused to help him so that he may not get the honour of a victory over Daud[11]. When he with the support of Raja Todar Mal, managed to bring them

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round, Muzaffar Khan adopted dilatory tactics[12]. Khan-i-Jahan had to humour him to get his support. Khan-i-Jahan, then, forced a decisive victory over Daud and put him to death. In this particular case it will be observed that not only *Chagtais* but also Muzaffar Khan an *Irani* was reluctant to support Khan-i-Jahan, who was also an *Irani*.

Zain Khan Koka was assigned the difficult task of containing the menace of Yusafzais in Swad and Bajaur. When he failed to cope with the problem, he requested the emperor for fresh reinforcement. Hakim Abul Fath and Raja Birbal were deputed to supplement his efforts. These three nobles were not on good terms with one another. Raja Birbal gave vent to his anguish on being sent in the company of Hakim Abul Fath for the support of Zain Khan : "It looks as if my fortune had been inverted that I should have to traverse hill and plain with Hakim for the support of Koka when shall the things end"[13].

Even during their journey they exchanged abuses for each other. On reaching Swad the two refused to listen to the advice of Zain Khan Koka, who having been there for some time, knew the geographical conditions of the area as also the gravity of the situation. Failing to convince them of the right course, Zain Khan struck a low profile. The result was the disastrous defeat of the Mughals. Raja Birbal lost his own life in the company of large number of soldiers whose number has been variously placed between 500 to 8000[14]. This disaster was, thus, the direct result of personal animosities among the nobles and could have been averted if there had been no ill-will among the nobles. Zain Khan earned the ignominy of having deserted Birbal and lost favour with Akbar[15].

In 1582, Khan-i-Azim Aziz Koka was directed to march against Berar. The nobles in the South were ordered to help Khan-i-Azim in his endeavours. The army assembled at Handia on the borders of Dakhin. Khan-i-Azim had a quarrel with Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan. Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan belonged to the clique of Adham Khan who in the early reign of Akbar had murdered Shams-ud-din-Muhamad Atka, the father of Khan-i-Azam[16]. Fath-ullah-Shirazi, also known as Azd-ud-daula, tried to pacify Khan-i-Azim but had to bear the mortification of listening to the abusive language of Khan-i-Azim. For about six months, there was no activity, the situation deteriorated further. Shihab-ud-din returned to his Jagirs at Raisin. Khan-i-Azim chased

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him. A calamitous clash was, however, averted by the apt handling of the situation by Azd-ud-daula[17].

Taking advantage of this situation Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh attacked the Mughals. Azd-ud-daula opened negotiations with him but to no avail. Azd-ud-daula had to beat a retreat and went to Gujarat. Khan-i-Azim attacked Berar and plundered Elichpur but failed to make an impression on the Deccan forces. He had to fall back on the bank of Narbada. Later he joined Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and planned to retrieve the situation with his help, but the vagaries of the weather obliged them to put off the attack[18].

To suppress the rebellion of 1580-81, Khan-i-Azim was sent to participate in the efforts being made by the Mughal nobles in Bengal & Bihar. When he joined Shahbaz Khan who was doing duty in Bihar, differences cropped up between the two. In the meantime, Shahbaz Khan defeated Dalpat Ujjainia, a Zamindar, and captured Hajipur. Dalpat had for a while thwarted the progress of Khan-i-Azim during his march to Bihar. This victory over Dalpat naturally swelled the head of Shahbaz Khan and he refused to hand over Hajipur to Khan-i-Azim, to whom it had been assigned by Akbar. On the persuation of Raja Todar Mal, Shahbaz Khan handed over Hajipur to Khan-i-Azim. However, amity could not be restored, as a result Khan-i-Azim and Raja Todar Mal returned to the court without making any worth while contribution to the cause for which they had been deputed[19].

Later a similar hostility developed between Shahbaz and Sadiq Muhommad Khan. It so happened that at Tanda (in Bengal) an elephant of Sadiq Muhammad attacked Shahbaz Khan dangerously. Shahbaz Khan began to nurse a rancour in his heart against Sadiq Khan. Sadiq Khan decided to leave for the court. He was, however, restrained by the emperor who put him under the command of Wazir Khan. They continued to curb rebellion in the different regions in Bengal but maintained a hostile posture towards each other. Therefore, Akbar decided to demarcate the areas of their activity. A messenger was sent to convene a meeting of the two nobles and to assign Bengal to one and Bihar to other. However, Sadiq Khan occupied Bengal withut waiting for the meeting. Shahbaz Khan out of disappointment decided to leave for the court. However, he was advised to return to Bengal[20]. This will explain why the rebellion of Bengal and Bihar staggered for a number of years.

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It will, thus, be seen that all was not smooth under the apparent harmonious surface. Personal, racial and sectarian differences frequently made their appearance and took the better of the larger interests of the state. Rebellions which could be curbed easily dragged for years; conquests had to be deferred to distant future. The state suffered in prestige and materially. It is a different matter, however, that because of the determined and apt handling of the situation by Akbar results, though delayed, came out to be invariably positive.

FOOT-NOTES

1. Badaoni and Khawaja Nizam-ud-din wrote that Qiya Khan went to Jungle and was brought around by Raja Todar Mal.
   (i) *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 193.
   (ii) *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 304, 305.
   (iii) *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, pp. 120-121.
2. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 212.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 122.
4. (i) *Ibid.*, pp. 122-127.
   (ii) *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* Vol. II, pp. 195-196.
5. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, p. 133.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 179-180.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 482.
14. *Ibid.*
    (ii) *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 389.
    (iii) *Massir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 371.
15. *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh*, Vol. II, 350-351.
16. S.A.A. Razvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign*, p. 177.
17. (i) *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, pp. 389-390.
    (ii) *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 361.
18. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, pp. 361-362.
19. *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, pp. 323-325.
20. *Ibid.* pp. 418, 449, 460 and 465.

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MUSLIM SAINTS IN THE MUGHAL PROVINCE OF PUNJAB

Surinder Singh

The province of Punjab, known to the Mughals as the *subah* of Lahore, comprised of a vast alluvial plain extending from the Satluj to the Indus. This region became an integral part of the Muslim world as early as the beginning of the eleventh century, when it was annexed to the Ghaznavide empire. This development—which was apparently political in nature—brought about significant changes in its social milieu. A large number of Muslims, including soldiers, administrators, poets, literateurs, mystics and religious thinkers, made a permanent home for themselves here.[1] The fall of Baghdad (A.D. 1258) at the hands of Halaku and the establishment of a vast Mongol empire, embracing a considerable part of central and western Asia, forced a number of Muslim refugees to seek asylum in northern India.[2] This nucleus of Muslim population continued to grow, over the centuries, with the conversion of many a Hindu—a phenomenon brought about by causes which were mainly social in character.[3] It is, therefore, possible to suggest that the province of Punjab came to possess a sizeable Muslim population by the end of the sixteenth century, when the Mughals had established their rule over a considerable part of the sub-continent.

During a long span of about five hundred years (from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries) the soldiers and administrators exerted themselves in order to consolidate the political power of the government, while the Muslim men of religion engaged themselves in fulfilling the socio-religious needs of their community as well as in strengthening the influence of their creed outside it. One of the earliest Muslim saints was Shaikh Ismail of Bokhara, who had settled in the city of Lahore in the first decade of the eleventh century. Such was his success as a missionary that he was able to convert thousands of people of Islam. It has been claimed that no non-believer ever came into personal contact with him without being converted.[4] A mystic, inclined more towards literature than the conversions of the non-

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Muslims was Shaikh Ali bin Uthman Hujwiri (d.1072 or 1079 A.D.) of Lahore. It is quite significant that *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, the earliest treatise on Islamic mysticism produced in India, was authored by him. This mystic tradition was carried over to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mainly due to the efforts of the sufis claiming affiliation to the Qadiriyya order.[5] Apart from the Qadirites, a number of Muslim saints who did not owe allegiance to any existing mystic order, enunciated distinct religious beliefs and practices. Close in their heels followed the poets who wrote mystic-verses in the Punjabi language. It is these religious developments which form the theme of study in this article.

* * * *

Shaikh Daud (d. 1575 A.D.) of Jheni, a town attached to the district of Lahore, has been referred to by Abdul Qadir Badauni as the founder of the Qadiriyya order. Though this statement is technically incorrect,[6] it indicates the services rendered by Shaikh Daud to the consolidation of this particular order in this part of the Mughal empire. Born at Sitpur in Multan, he received his formal education at Lahore under Maulana Ismail of Uch. In the absence of a spiritual guide, he spent twenty years of his life longing for spiritual bliss. Finally, at the bidding of Shaikh Hamid Qadiri of Uch who was a direct descendant of Shaikh Muhammad Husaini, he began to propagate the Qadiriyya doctrine from Shergarh, fifteen miles north of Dipalpur. His unorthodox religious practices attracted the notice of Makhdum-ul-Mulk Abdullah Sultanpuri, who summoned him to Gwalior through an order issued by the Afghan ruler, Islam Shah. Shaikh Daud, however, succeeded in satisfying his detractors, who allowed him to go. The Shaikh possessed a liberal and charitable disposition. On certain fixed occasions in a year, he distributed all his money and goods to the needy. Such was his fame that Badauni came all the way to Shergarh to have a discourse with him. It was believed that not a day passed when fifty to a hundred Hindus, along with their families, did not embrace Islam at the Shaikh's instance.[7]

Shaikh Abu Ishaq of Lahore was one of the leading disciples of Shaikh Daud, to whom he was attached in an intimate relationship. In traversing the path of righteousness, he surpassed his contemporaries. He always remained confined in the privacy of his cell, which was located in a garden. He avoided the company of all men, except two or three associates of Shaikh Daud. He was not in favour of enrolling

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disciples. The influence enjoyed by him and his *pir* in the neighbourhood of Lahore, becomes evident from the following anecdote. On his journey from Lahore to Shergarh, Badauni was waylaid by certain Jats and highwaymen. But when they learnt that he had just taken leave of Shaikh Ishaq and was going to pay his respects to Shaikh Daud, they tendered an unqualified apology to him and treated him with great consideration.[8]

Shaikh Abul Maali was a nephew, son-in-law and one of the spiritual successors of Shaikh Daud. He bore immense reverence and love for his spiritual preceptor to whom he had surrendered his will completely. He has described the mystical experiences of his *pir* in a book cntitled Naghmat-i-Daudi.[9] He was the very embodiment of self-effacement and holy poverty. He excelled his contemporaries in the pursuit of righteousness. He composed mystical verses—some of which are recorded in the Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh—under the nom-de-plume of Ghurbati.[10]

Shaikh Bilawal Qadiri was another prominent mystic of the province. Having migrated from Herat, his forefathers had settled at Shaikhupura, about twenty miles from Lahore. A disciple of Shamsuddin Qadiri of Lahore, he was a strict adherent of the doctrine of Wahdat-ul-Wujud.[11] His personal life was marked by a high degree of puritanism. He always remained aloof from the people, being constantly engaged in solitary prayers. However, he possessed a cheerful and hospitable disposition. Whenever he conversed he did so in a sweet manner and offered appropriate sermons and advice to the people, who listened to him with devotion. He maintained a running kitchen which remained opened for all. He also wrote recommendatory letters on behalf of the needy to the officials in authority. It was believed that if a cup of water breathed over by the Shaikh was administered to the sick, it could cure him.[12] Having heard of his great reputation, Shah Jahan visited his *Khangah* in A.D. 1635 and had an illuminating dialogue with him. The emperor made a gift of Rs. 10,000 to the care takers of the Shaikh's establishment.[13] A life-long bachelor, he died in January, 1637.[14]

The Qadiriyya *silsilah* attained its zenith in the Mughal province of Punjab under the stewardship of Miyan Mir, an ontological monist deeply under the influence of Ibn-i-Arabi.[15] He was born in A.D. 1550 at Siwistan,[16] a town situated between Bhakkar and Thatta, and in a family of qazis. Having lost his father at the age of seven, he learnt to tread on the spiritual path under the guidance of his mother, who

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was herself inclined towards mysticism. With her permission, he become a disciple of Shaikh Khizar, who undertook mystic exercises in the hills of Siwistan.[17]

At the advice of his spiritual preceptor, Miyan Mir, then in his early twenties came to Lahore, where he lived for more than sixty years.[18] He began to live in the mosques of the city and studied under the guidance of an outstanding scholar of Akbar's reign, Maulana Saadullah and his disciple Maulana Niamatullah. He achieved considerable proficiency in traditional and rational sciences.[19] He could quote extensively from Ibn-i-Arabi's work Futuhat-i-Makkiya (Meccan Revelations). He had also committed to memory Jami's commentary on Ibn-i-Arabi's Fasus-ul-Hikam (Bezels of Wisdom). The scholars of the day often consulted him on the intricate problems relaling to mysticism.[20]

After completing his formal education, Miyan Mir started undertaking spiritual exercises. Accompanied by a few companions, he would begin by visting the tombs of holy men. Then they would go to the woods and gardens for contemplation, each sitting alone under a tree. However, they would collect at one place at the time of namaz, a practice said to have been followed by Prophet Muhammad.[21] After a year's sojourn at Sirhind, where he took Haji Niamatullah Sirhindi as his first disciple, Miyan Mir returned to Lahore. He settled in the Muhalla Baghbanan popularly known as Khafipura, where he lived till the end of his life.[22] Soon, the city developed into the most important centre of the Qadirites in the Mughal empire.

Miyan Mir had strong aversion to the company of people and did not relish visitors. He believed that one who acquired perfection in solitude (tajrid), achieved his aim in a short time. He would stay for as long as fifteen days in a deserted house outside the city in order to meditate in peace. Sometimes, he would lock himself in his cell (hujra) for the whole night, and prayed with his face towards Mecca, either alone or in company with one or two associates—a practice universally followed by Miyan Mir's disciples.[23] One of them, Shaikh Abdul Ghani, has clearly stated that the Miyan often advised them to avoid any social contact, and believed that immense spiritual benefit could be derived by spending one's time alone in the jungle.[24]

Miyan Mir believed that a person who had chosen the path of mysticism, should have absolute faith (Tawakkul) in God, with whom he

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should be in constant communion. He often recited a couplet which may be translated as follows.[25]

One who remained forgetful of God
even for a moment
Became at that very moment an infidel
though a hidden one.

Since the Miyan strictly adhered to this principle in practice, he remained in a perpetual state of self-annihilation (istaghraq), unconscious even of the piece of bread in his hand while eating.[26]

In a conversation with Mulla Abdul Hakim Sialkoti,[27] a renowned scholar and teacher of the day, Miyan Mir was reported to have said, "There are two ways of achieving God. The first is passion (jazba) in which God pulls man towards Himself in one single moment and assimilates him into His Being. The second is mysticism (Suluk) in which the novice (talib), under the supervision of his spiritual guide, undertakes spiritual exercises. When he reaches its first stage, called alam-i-malkut, the pir directs him to engage himself in solitary meditation in the jungle, where he is not disturbed by wordly affairs." When the Mulla raised doubts about the utility of praying alone, the Miyan asserted that it was the understanding of the true nature of namaz and the concentration of the mind (huzur-i-qalb) and not the congregation (jamaat) which were the essential features of namaz. Moreover, he strongly disapproved of a namaz which was accompanied by any distracting thought (Khatra).[28]

Like Abdul Qadir Jilani, Miyan Mir advocated a strict adherence to the *Shariat*. For it constituted the first stage in the path of mysticism (Suluk), when all obligations enjoined by Islam were faithfully adhered to. As a result, the second stage, *tariqat*, was reached by the novice. It involved the purification of heart from all evil intentions, understanding the transitory nature of existence and obliterating everything from the heart except God. Thus was paved the way for the journey to the final stage, *haqiqat*, which was connected with the soul. Further, the Miyan believed that human being was constituted of three things –body (nafs), heart (dil) and soul (ruh). Each one of these could be reformed by observing the rules of the *Shariat*, *tariqat* and *haqiqat* respectively.[29]

Miyan Mir took few disciples, for it was rare to find one who was

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truly inclined towards God. But, when he did take one, he saw to it that he was guided to his destination.[30] Unlike numerous Shaikhs of the day who enrolled a large number of disciples only to acquire cheap popularity. Miyan Mir invariably prescribed a tough course for the novice. The first thing required of him was to renounce both the worlds. Then came hard spiritual exercises (riyazat-i-shaqa), which involved cutting down in the amount of food, sleep and speech.[31] However, Miyan Mir advised his disciples to take packed food along with them, while going out in the jungles for meditation (a practice followed by Prophet Muhammad), for the biggest danger to the novice came from hunger.[32] In the early stages of their relationship, the Miyan projected himself as the beloved (maashuq) and the novice (talib) as his lover (ashiq). At this stage, the more the preceptor—beloved overlooked the novice—lover, the more was the latter drawn towards the former. In this manner, the novice was tested repeatedly for his sincerity and determination. Withont going through such a test a hundred times, one could not become a knower of secrets (sahib-i-asrar). When the novice was found strongly entrenched in his love, the Miyan became his lover and regarded the novice as his beloved.[33] It may be pointed out that he did not treat his disciples as such; he always addressed them as dear comrade (yaar-i-aziz) for the institution of piri-muridi did not exist in the times of the Prophet.[34]

Miyan Mir was fond of listening to Hindi (probably Urdu) songs. When any *qawwal* turned up, an audition party (sama) was also held. On such occasions, his face illumined with happiness. However, he did not make it a regular practice, nor did he keep a *qawwal* in his employ. Moreover, his adherence to the Shariat as well as his self control were so strong that he never fell into a state of ecstasy (wajd) and dance (raqs). Sama and wajd were two different things, the former being defined as listening to songs (naghma) and the latter as dancing with raised hands. It becomes evident that so far as its attitude towards music was concerned, the Qadiriyya *silsilah* had taken up a position midway between those adopted by the Chishtiyya (who considered sama, wajd and raqs as permissible) and the Naqshbandiya (who did not allow it).[35]

A number of miracles were said to have been exhibited by Miyan Mir in an entirely involuntary manner. But he tried to conceal them most scrupulously, for he strongly disapproved of the act of performing miracles. In fact, he did not even like to talk about them. Once, he

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strongly reprimanded a dearly-loved companion, Miyan Natha, who sought to stop rain, wind and thunder of clouds through miraculous powers. The Miyan characterized this attitude as *khud faroshi* and undue interference in the working of God.[36] He believed that miracles were of two kinds, *akhtiari* and *iztrari*. The former were exhibited by those *'ahl-i-da wat* who, in order to fulfil a desire, repeated one of the numerous names of God and by doing so succeeded in their aim. The latter were those which could not be performed by voluntary effort, but were entirely willed by God.[37]

Miyan Mir's eminence as a mystic par excellence was recognized by all sections of the society. Though Jahangir was generally ill-disposed towards men of religion, he was deeply impressed with the spiritual attainments of the Miyan and even sought to be enrolled as his disciple.[38] Shah Jahan derived immense spiritual benefit from the saint, whom he met twice.[39] The emperor found only two mystics in the whole empire wrothy of reverence—Shah Fazlullah of Burhanpur and Miyan Mir.[40] Dara Shikoh, a mystic in his own right, possessed unbounded veneration for Miyan Mir, whom he immortalised through his work. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*.[41] Besides the ruling elite, a number of spiritually inclined commoners, belonging to the various parts of the empire, adopted the path of mysticism under his guidance.[42]

* * *

Besides the Qadirites, there were a number of lesser Muslim saints, each one of whom had acquired some prominence in the religious milieu of the province. The most important of them was Shah Daulah who, in his early life, had been a slave of Mehta Khem Karan Badhera of Sialkot.[43] He was exceedingly devoted to *faqirs*, in particular to Miyan Sayyid Bah, whom he served for a long time. Before his death, the Miyan conferred spiritual enlightenment on his disciple. Thereafter, Shah Daulah left Sialkot and settled permanently at Gujrat. His fame as a holy man spread in all directions. Devotees in large numbers began to visit his establishment. The offerings made by them in the form of cash or kind, exceeded all limits of calculation. An amount more than that was distributed to the needy by Shah Daulah himself, 'so that the people forgot the very name of Hatim.' However, his charity extended to areas untouched by other philanthropists. He was reputed to have constructed the famous bridge over the Degh, where it intersected the imperial highway, at a distance of five *kos* from Aminabad in the direction of Lahore. It has been claimed that a structure as

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strong as this could not have been built by the emperors or their *amirs*. Shah Daulah died in the seventeenth regnal year of Aurangzeb. His mausoleum, which stood near the town of Gujrat,[44] became a place of pilgrimage for both the Muslims and the Hindus.[45]

It was widely believed that Shah Daulah possessed the miraculous power of granting the boon of children to the childless. People desirous of a child prayed at the saint's shrine and vowed to make a present of the baby when born or an offering to the shrine. On the birth of the child, some parents failed to fulfil their part of the promise. As a punishment, the spirit of the offended saint cursed them in such a manner that the next child of the couple turned out to be a *chuha* (microcephalous idiot) brainless, small-headed, long-eared and rat-faced. This phenomenon, it was believed, continued to repeat itself until the vow was fulfilled.[46]

Pir Hassu Teli, who died at Lahore in A.D. 1603, appears to have acquired some reputation as a holy man. Though a Muslim oilman by birth,[47] he was considered to be one of the spiritual descendants of Gorakhnath and also an incarnation of Guru Nanak. However, he has been appropriately styled as a *malamatiya*, a class of *sufis* who did not follow the basic observances enjoined by Islam, in order to conceal their spiritual attainments. It was on account of the heterodox character of his religious attitudes that he became popular among people of diverse creeds, castes and occupations, like the Sayyids, Brahmins, Jogis, *zamindars*, petty officials and merchants etc. Pir Hassu was reputed for helping his follower in worldly affairs by working miracles.[48]

The influence enjoyed by the mystics over the popular mind provided a fertile ground for charlatans and pretenders to emerge as religious leaders.[49] This phenomenon has been illustrated by the interesting case of Mir Muhammad Husain,[50] who made an abortive attempt, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, to enunciate a new religious creed in the city of Lahore. At the outset, he invented a new language, in order to receive revelations from heaven. Secondly, he brought out a treatise on religion called the *Aguzah Muqqadisah*, which was replete with obscure phrases and unknown words from ancient Persian and Arabic. Thirdly, he styled himself as the *beguk; begukiat* being a position intermediate between prophethood (*nabuwwat*) and pontificate (*imamat*). He asserted that all prophets were followed by nine beguks, that the first eight of Prophet Muhammad had been the

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eight imams from Ali bin Abu Talib to Imam Reza, and that *imamat* and *begukiat* were merged in each one of them. However, the two offices were subsequently separated and the Sayyid himself was the ninth and the last beguk, divinely ordained to proclaim a new creed. Fourthly, he designed a number of strange rituals to be followed by his devotees called *farboods*, each one of whom was given a *nishan* instead of his name. It may be noted that the new system of religious beliefs and practices failed to flourish. Mir Muhammad Husain quietly slipped out of Lahore and established himself at Delhi, where his mission was met with more success.[51]

* * *

The Mughal province of Punjab seems to have been honey-combed by tombs of many a Muslim saint. Though they had died in an earlier period, their mausoleums continued to attract the common mass of people, who resorted to them with their offerings, with the hope of achieving their mundane desires. Better known among such holy-men was Sakhi Sarwar Sultan, who laid the foundation of a cult which was characterized by heterodox religious practices. It is not possible to give an objective account of its origin and growth, for the meagre historical facts about the saint (d. A.D. 1187) have been buried under the dead weight of legends. It has been reported that he was a disciple of Shaikh Ismail of Lahore and had numerous Hindus among his followers[52]—a trend attributable to his having failed to introduce a distinctive creed and confining himself to the performing of miracles. His priests, called Bharais, were Muslim almost to a man. He chose Nigaha in the Dera Ghazi Khan district as his abode and pilgrimage to which became a special feature of the cult. Every village of central part of British Punjab could boast of a humble edifice dedicated to the saint.[53] The village of Dhaunkal, twelve *kos* from Sialkot, contained a monument associated with Sultan Sarwar which attracted a regular stream of visitors, particularly during a period of two months in summer, when innumerable devotees gathered to make offerings.[54]

Chiniot, a town on the eastern bank of the Chenab, contained the mausoleum of Shah Burhan, who was a *Wali* of his times, and who had thousands of followers. The tomb of Shah Nasiruddin, who had gained much popularity as a *faqir*, was found in the *qasbah* of Jalandhar. People gathered here in large number during the summer. The graves of a number of Muslim saints—Shihabuddin Bokhari, Shah Ismail, Shah Niamatullah and Shaikh Allahadad, each one of whom was a

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wali of his day—were found in Batala, a town in the upper Bari Doab. At a distance of two *kos* from this place was situated the tomb of Shah Badruddin, whose descent could be traced to Miran Muhiuddin.[55]

At Dipaliwal, a village in the *parganah* of Kalanaur, placed four *kos* from Batala, stood the mausoleum of Shah Shamsuddin Dariayi, who had attained great spiritual excellence. A number of miracles have been attributed to him, two of which have been recorded in the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*. His tomb had become a centre of pilgrimage for one and all. Every Friday night, especially which coincided with the new moon, thousands of men and women reached the place from far and near, and made offerings of cash and kind including milk, rice, wheat, flour, oil and sugar. The devotees made vows in the hope of gaining their desires. The management (majawari) of the shrine was in the hands of the descendants of Dipali, a Hindu disciple of the saint. Although the Muslims tried to oust these hereditary Hindu attendants, they failed on account of, it was believed, the favour in which Dipali was held by his *pir*. The control of the shrine was in the hands of Dipali's descendants as late as A.D. 1696, when Sujan Rai Bhandari completed his historical work.[56]

* * *

The province of Punjab produced another group of *sufis* who were known not for the characteristics associated with mysticism, but as poets. They did not seek inspiration from the mystic-cum-literary traditions of western Asia. Instead, they identified themselves completely with their milieu. As a consequence, their poetical compositions turned out to be the expression of the most natural urges of the people of the region. Written in 'pure Punjabi of the Western variety' and punctuated with symbols from the countryside, they possessed a rare lyrical quality.[57] The literary output of these mystic poets appears to have taken the form of a movement which exerted a considerable influence on their contemporaries as well as the subsequent generations. In the following paragraphs an attempt is being made to analyse the ideas propagated by three representative mystic poets of the region under review.

Shah Husain Lahori (A.D. 1539-1599), a *malamatiya* by practice,[58] had deep and unflinching faith in God. He believed that God was supreme in all worldly and spiritual matters, that He was present every where, that He was a veritable ocean of mercy and the sole protector of man, that He ordained all happenings which could not be altered, that man was a mere plaything in His hands, that man should surrender

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himself completely to His will and that he should never forget Him.[59] Shah Husain sought to achieve union with God through the medium of love. In his verses, he has referred to God as the (male) beloved and to himself as the (female) lover, who was constantly suffering from the pangs of separation.[60] The poet has expressed his yearning by alluding to the romance of Hir and Ranjha, the famous folk-tale of Punjab.[61] He believed that life and its possessions were purely temporary in nature; therefore one should give up pride and take to humility.[62] He has also asserted that man's salvation depended on his actions and not on the superiority of birth.[63] Being a weaver by caste,[64] Shah Husain has made use of the various processes connected with the craft of weaving, in order to convey his spiritual ideas in a symbolic manner. For instance, he held that an unmarried girl (a man who has embarked on the spiritual journey) must spend her time in spinning cotton yarn (doing good deeds), for if she desired to please her husband (God) after marriage (death), she must possess a requisite amount of dowry (an account of good actions).[65] It may be pointed out that, unlike Sultan Bahu and Bulley Shah, the poet has nowhere criticised the observance of Muslim religious rites; he has maintained a studied silence on the issue.

The religious thought of Sultan Bahu (A.D. 1631-1691), a native of Jhang, can be gleaned from a long *siharfi*, containing over 180 *dohas*. A single *doha* consisted of four *tukks* (lines), each of which ended in the word *Hu*—a characterstic feature of Bahu's poetry.[66] In these verses, the poet has expressed his adherence to the *kalima* which established the oneness of God as well as the finality of Muhammad's Prophethood[67]. He has often referred to the founder of Islam in a reverential tone.[68] He has repeatedly emphasised the belief in *tauhid* (oneness of God)[69] and the need to remember Him at all times.[70] But He had to be realized by man from within his own self.[71] The attachment to wordly affairs was a serious impediment in the spiritual growth of man ; it must be divorced at all costs, for *din* and *duniya* could not go together.[72] Bahu drew a distinction between *ishq* (love) and *imaan* (faith) and held the former to be more important.[73] *Ishq* was the most exalted feeling which enabled man to achieve his ultimate aim.[74] Bahu has ridiculed the *ulama* and *pandits* who took pride in their scholastic attainments,[75] for acquisition of knowledge served no useful purpose in the process of spiritual advancement.[76] The observance of various religious rites, including the reading of the Quran, were exercises in futility.[77] The most outstanding feature of Bahu's

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thought appears to be the emphasis laid on the role of *murshid* (preceptor) in the spiritual quest of man. The very sight of the *murshid* has been likened to lakhs and crores of visits to Mecca.[78] Bahu's respectful references to Abdul Qadir Jilani indicates his attachment to the Qadiriyya order.[79]

Bulley Shah (A.D. 1680-1758), a native of Qasur,[80] has been universally acclaimed as the greatest of all the Punjabi sufi poets.[81] His views on the nature of God and His realization by man were quite akin to those of Shah Husain.[82] The theme of separation from and longing for the beloved (God) appears frequently in Bulley Shah's verses,[83] and the folk-tale of Hir and Ranjha provided numerous opportunities to the poet to express these ideas.[84] He has also dwelt on the transitory nature of human life and the need to prepare oneself for the 'next world' by doing good deeds.[85] A man of wide sympathies, the poet refused to identify himself with any religion, race or region.[86] He advocated the path of *sulh-i-kul* and rose above all petty considerations, which plagued the contemporary society. He claimed that he would not hesitate to adopt un-Islamic practices in order to achieve his spiritual aims.[87] The people who had acquired formal education came in for severe condemnation at the hands of the poet, who held that they were responsible not only for creating all kinds of disputes and tensions but also for exploiting the illiterate by their knowledge and other hypocritical acts.[88] Since people were engaged in needless controversies over religious matters, Bulley Shah thought it prudent to conceal his own ideas for fear of being killed.[89] Nevertheless, he emerged as a vehement and outspoken critic of the religious rites observed by the Muslims.[90] The poet has time and again, acknowledged his debt of gratitude to his *murshid*, Shah Inayat Qadiri, for various act of kindness.[91]

* * *

The contribution made by the Muslims to the religious developments in the Mughal province of Punjab, was rich and varied. A significant role in this direction was played by the Qadirites, under whose leadership the *silsilah* travelled from Uch and established itself firmly in the heart of the province. Under the stewardship of Miyan Mir, it attained an enviable position, as numerous disciples drawn from all parts of the empire, flocked to him to be initiated into the secrets of mysticism. However, it has to be admitted that the Miyan's influence was largely confined to the intellectual and ruling elite. It is no wonder that Sujan Rai Bhandari, who has referred to numerous little known and obscure religious cults and

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personages, failed to take note of Miyan Mir and his disciples. On the other hand, it appears that the semi-literate and the un-lettered satisfied their religious needs by paying frequent or occasional visits to the hospices and mausoleums of a number of lesser saints. These holy men could hardly boast of any intellectual training or spiritual attainments. Instead they propagated heterodox religious practices and indulged in miracle-mongering. From the social point of view, they played a more useful role; they provided a common meeting ground to men belonging to diverse religious communities, castes and creeds. A similar function seems to have been performed by the mystic poets, who rose above all sectarian considerations, minimized the doctrinal and communal differences and highlighted the oneness of God and the universal brotherhood of man—all through their mystical verses which were written in the language of the people.

FOOT NOTES

1. I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pak Sub-continent*, The Hague, 1962, p. 54.
2. S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Agra, 1965, pp. 7-8.
3. Jafar Sharif, *Islam in India*, Tr. G. A. Herklots, Ed. William Crooke, London, 1921, p. 4.
4. Mufti Muhammad Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya*, Kanpur, 1894, Vol. II, p. 230.
5. Founded in Iraq by Abdul Qadir Jilani (A.D. 1077-1166), it advocated a dissuasion from worldliness and laid much emphasis on piety and humanitarianism; Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, London, 1966, pp. 158-159.
6. In the north-western India, the Qadiriyya order appeared only in the later half of the fifteenth century when Shaikh Muhammad Husaini and his descendants made Uch the centre of their religious activities; Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhadith Dehalvi, *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, New Delhi, 1914. pp, 202-207.
7. Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1869, pp. 28-39.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
11. This pantheistic doctrine—according to which Man was the microcosm in which all the divine attributes were united and in Man alone did God become fully conscious of Himself—was enunciated by Ibn-i-Arabi (A.D. 1165-1240), one of the greatest Muslim thinkers of all times; R. A. Nicholson, 'Mysticism' in Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume (Eds.), *The Legacy of Islam*, London, 1947, p. 224.
12. The above doctrine had been adopted by all Qadirites as their creed; S. A. A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 54.
    Mufti Muhammad Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya*, Vol. I, pp. 161-163.

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13. Muhammad Saleh Kambo, *Amal-i-Saleh*, Vol. II, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1927-1939, p. 73. (hereafter cited as *Amal-i-Saleh*).
14. Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Namah*, Vol. I, Part II, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1867, p. 334. (hereafter cited as *Badshah Namah*); *Amal-i-Saleh*, Vol. III, pp. 366-367.
15. Aziz Ahmed, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, Edinburgh, 1969, p. 42.
16. Dara Shikoh, Sakinat-ul-Auliya, Tehran, 1965, p. 95 (hereafter cited as Sakinat-ul-Auliya); Dara Shikoh, *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, Urdu Tr., Muhammad Ali Lufti, Karachi, 1961, p. 101 (hereafter cited as *Safinat-ul-Auliya*).
17. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, pp. 25-29; *Amal-i Saleh*, Vol. III, p. 364.
18. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, p. 94 ; *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, p. 102.
19. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, pp. 30-31.
20. *Amal-i-Saleh*, Vol. III, p. 363.
21. In his work, Risala-i-Haqnuma, Dara Shikoh has given an exposition of the Qadiriyya system of meditation; B. J. Hasrat, *Dara Shikuh : Life and Works*, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 72-75.
22. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, pp. 31-34.
23. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, p. 32; *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, p. 103.
24. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, p. 235.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
27. For details see Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, New Delhi, 1918, p. 73 (hereafter cited as Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh); *Badshah Namah* Vol. I, Part II, p. 340; *Amal-i-Saleh*, Vol. III, pp. 382-383.
28. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, pp. 50-51; *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, p. 102.
29. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, pp. 64, 83; *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, p. 102.
30. Miyan Haji Muhammad Banyani, a disciple of Miyan Mir has affirmed that the Miyan took great pains to instruct his disciples; *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, p. 212.
31. Mulla Shah Badakhshi, a leading disciple of the Miyan and the pir of Dara Shikoh, found the Miyan's method to be too tough; he smiplified it by dropping riyazat-i-Shaqa; *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, p. 167.
32. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, pp. 238-240.
33. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, pp. 36-40; *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, p. 102.
34. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, pp. 73-74.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-72.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
38. Nuruddin Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, Eng. Tr., Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, New Delhi, Rep. 1968, p. 119; *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, pp. 46-48.
39. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, pp. 48-49.
40. *Badshah Namah*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 331; *Amal-i-Saleh*, Vol. II, pp. 72-73.
41. *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, pp. 53, 241.
42. Dara Shikoh has given short biographical sketches of twenty three disciples of Miyan Mir; *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, pp. 132-245.
43. Ganesh Dass Wadhera, *Char Bagh-i-Punjab*, Amritsar, 1965, p. 177.
44. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 74.
45. H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West*

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Frontier Province, Vol. I, Patiala, Rep. 1970, p. 634.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 630.
47. D. Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, Patiala, Rep. 1970, p. 324.
48. M. Athar Ali, 'Sidelights into Ideological and Religious Attitudes in the Punjab during the 17th Century'; *Medieval India : A Miscellany*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1972, pp. 187-194.
49. I. H. Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics* New Delhi, Rep. 1985, p. 26.
50. He was a decendant of the Rizvi Sayyids of the Iranian City of Mashhad. Having migrated to Kabul, he gained some prominence on account of his knowledge of Arabic, logic and other theological subjects. He found no difficulty in marrying the adopted daughter of the governor of Kabul, Amri Khan. Having gained an entry into the political circles of Kabul, he secured the post of darogha khushbu khana. The death of Amir Khan, however, proved a turning point in his life. Armed with a stock of rose-essence of Peshawar and other perfumes, he left Kabul for the imperial capitable in order to win Aurangzeb's favour. But the news of the emperor's death terminated his journey at Lahore. He sold his merchandise at a price of sixty or seventy thousand rupees, which he considered to be sufficient for the remainder of his life; Ghulam Husain Khan, *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, Vol. II, Kanpur, 1897, p. 445.
51. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhrin*, Vol. II, pp. 445-448.
52. I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pak Sub-Continent*, p. 54; Also see, *Khadinat-ul-Asfiya*, Vol. II, pp. 245-248.
53. Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 566-570; Rose, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 435-437.
54. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 73.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 78.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
57. G. S. Talib, 'Punjabi' in R. C. Majumdar, (Ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VII, Bombay, 1974, p. 576.
58. *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya*, Vol. I, pp. 141-146.
59. K. S Bedi, *Shah Husain Lahori*, Chandigarh, 1978, Kafis Nos. 1, 33, 38, 43, 45, 48, 59, 78, 117, 139, 143, 147.
60. *Ibid.*, Kafis Nos. 5, 8, 10, 16, 17, 23, 24, 25, 39, 50, 64, 68, 76, 88, 93, 95, 100, 105, 108, 141, 145, 149.
61. *Ibid.*, Kafis Nos. 73, 74, 78, 97, 109, 116, 124, 138, 162.
62. *Ibid.*, Kafis Nos. 6, 13, 15, 21, 22, 28, 32, 36, 38, 48, 53, 55, 56, 62, 71, 72, 75, 79, 84, 85, 94, 101, 102, 106, 119, 129, 156.
63. *Ibid.*, Kafis Nos. 59, 140.
64. *Ibid.*, Kafi No. 9.
65. *Ibid.*, Kafis Nos. 2, 28, 30, 41, 47, 52, 61, 65, 80, 82, 86, 115, 125, 128, 142, 146, 150, 157.
66. Lajwanti Rama Krishna, *Panjabi Sufi Poets*, New Delhi, Rep., 1973, pp. 50-51.
67. Ujagar Singh, *Sultan Bahu*, Patiala, 1976, Dohas Nos. 129, 130, 135, 136, 137, 175, 180.
68. *Ibid.*, Dohas Nos. 12, 20, 141.
69. *Ibid.*, Dohas Nos. 41, 43, 52, 84, 112, 165, 166, 169.
70. *Ibid.*, Dohas Nos. 38, 54, 71, 96, 97.
71. *Ibid.*, Dohas Nos. 4, 5, 99, 183, 184.

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72. *Ibid.*, Dohas Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 64, 73, 159.
73. *Ibid.*, Dohas Nos. 11, 75.
74. *Ibid.*, Dohas Nos. 46, 47, 50, 51, 100, 101-123, 165, 169, 178.
75. *Ibid.*, Dohas Nos. 27-29 59, 67, 118, 154.
76. *Ibid.*, Dohas Nos, 23, 56, 68, 77, 80, 161.
77. *Ibid.*, Dohas Nos. 22, 39, 52, 85, 88, 99, 102, 157, 161, 163.
78. *Ibid.*, Dohas Nos. 1, 2, 13, 26, 37, 41, 45, 57, 86, 88, 119, 120, 128, 134, 135, 146-155, 161, 163, 183.
79. *Ibid.*, Dohas Nos. 81, 92, 132.
80. *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya*, Vol. I, p. 208.
81. S. R. Sharda, *Sufi Thought*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 148.
82. Gurdev Singh, *Kalam Bulley Shah*, Ludhiana, 1970, pp. 89, 94, 99, 103, 108, 109, 122, 124, 130, 141, 162, 171, 198-200, 213, 222, 226, 229, 236, 246, 247.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 74, 86, 89-92, 102-107, 116-122, 124-127, 133, 136-140, 144, 145, 147, 151, 152, 158, 170, 177, 183, 189-191, 196, 200, 202, 206, 208, 210, 215, 220, 222, 224, 234, 235, 243.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 76, 131, 135, 163, 169, 170, 175, 195, 215-218, 220, 232.
85. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129, 148, 154, 166, 178.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 136, 139.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 157, 176, 177, 182, 209, 213, 219, 221, 227, 231, 245, 249.
88. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-186.
89. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-215, 219.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 97, 100, 132, 134, 156, 163, 171, 182, 183, 186, 207, 223, 225.
91. *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 76, 84, 93, 94, 103, 104, 126, 131, 133, 144, 145, 147, 176, 177, 186, 191, 196, 202, 215, 225, 245.

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DR. SATYAPAL'S ROLE IN SOLVING COMMUNAL RIOTS

Naranjan Dass Mohaya

The main object of this paper is to throw light on the role of Dr. Satyapal in maintaining communal unity between the communities in Punjab. This paper is mainly based on Archival records.

Dr. Satyapal was a reputed Physician, Surgeon and Dentist and still more was a great pillar of Congress movement in the Punjab. He was born on 11th May, 1885 at Wazirabad, Gujranwala district.[1] He was a son of Mani Ram, Khatri Chopra of Wazirabad, Gujranwala district.[2] Our main aim is not to give his role in freedom struggle but to highlight his attitude towards eradicating communal venom from the hearts of all communities. In this context our main purpose is not to deal with all communal riots which occurred in the province, but to unveil only those where he played his unique role in uniting the communities.

Communal problem became very acute in the province after the suspension of Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movements in 1922 and even Gandhiji did not hesitate to say that Punjab held the key to the communal problem in India.[3] District Amritsar was disfigured with communal riots in the year 1923 and in the village of Dareke, district Amritsar, on 19-3-1923 communal riot occurred between the Muslims and Hindus over the cow slaughter and the Muslims came to blows with the Sikhs.[4] And again on 11-4-1923 and 12-4-1923 a Hindu-Muslim riot broke out in the Amritsar district.[5] The cause of the riot was an insult caused to Hindu girl.[6] There were different interpretations of the cause of riot. Again the city of Amritsar was disturbed with Hindu-Muslim riot which broke out on 6-5-1923 in Chowk Phullan.[7] The cause of this riot was the ringing of bells in a Hindu temple in Bagh Jhanda Singh while the Muslims offered their night prayers in a mosque near this temple. Again on the night of 7th and 8th May, 1923 in Tehniwali Gali, 10 Muslims were injured and in Chitta Katra, 19 Hindus were wounded. On the 8th May, Chitta Katra Bazaar was a place of disturbance, in which 1 Muslim died. In Katra Khazana 21 Hindus and in Chowk Kalu 3 Hindus were wounded.[8] Dr. Satyapal stated in *The*

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Bande Matram of 26th May, 1923 to the Amritsar riots of 6th May to 8th May, 1923, and urged both the communities of the city to cease fighting, and to participate in the present political war against the Government.[9] He stressed in the same paper dated 10th June, 1923 that the Muslim newspapers had been injuring the feelings of the Hindus since long, but the Government did not take notice of these writings. He further remarked that the Government should warn all the newspapers of both the communities that were inciting the fire of communal hatred.[10] He stressed that the media of press can help in maintaining communal harmony among the different communities.

A Sikh-Muslim communal riot broke out in Rawalpindi on the night of 14th June, 1926, outside the Singh Sabha.[11] The immediate cause of the feud was a Sikh procession and a Sikh festival with a band playing.[12] According to Prem Raman Uprety, "The immediate cause for the riot was a controversy centering on the construction of a cinema theatre by a Sikh nearby a Muslim mosque".[13] Dr. Satyapal played his commendable role in this riot to patch up the differences between both the communities. In the capacity of General Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee important was he deputed Lala Duni Chand, Shri Siraj Din, S. Sardul Singh, Lala Girdhari Lal and Dr. Mohammad Alam, who did not participate in it, to enquire about the happenings in the Rawalpindi riot and ordered to submit their report after meeting careful enquiries about the causes that led to these disturbances.[14] The report was published which was quite impartial.

By 1928 communal dissensions began to take their toll even in the countryside. Of these countryside riots, the Softa riot which broke out on 30th May, 1928 between Muslims of the Meo Tribe and the Hindu Jats in the Gurgaon district.[15] In this riot 14 Jats died, 22 wounded, eight policemen too were injured.[16] In Lahore public meeting under the City Congress Committee, held under the Chairmanship of Lala Duni Chand Bar-at-Law, alleged that the responsibility for firing rested on the police. In this meeting Dr. Satyapal moved a resolution that the meeting condemned the police firing and expressed sympathy with the dead and the widows and orphans left behind. He further said that both the communities should unite, and should not be led away by mischief mongers.[17]

A deplorable Muslim-Hindu riot occurred on 31st May, 1928 at Malikpur village situated 3 miles north-east of Ropar in Ambala district.[18] The main reason of this riot was a cow sacrifice on the

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occasion of the 'Id' day.[19] Dr. Satyapal moved a resolution in the Lahore Congress Committee which held earlier that the meeting condemned the firing at Malikpur and requested both the communities to unite and not to be led away by the mischief makers.[20]

There was an old dispute between the Sikhs and the Hindus regarding the possession of some shops belonging to a religious institution at Daska in the Sialkot district.[21] This dispute actually started in the year 1928. This controversy spread all over the province and all the different political parties tried to solve this knotty problem. Dr. Satyapal was so prominent leader of Congress that Master Tara Singh, President of the Central Sikh League and the Shiromani Gurdawara Parbandhak Committee appealed to him as well as other Hindu leaders of prominence like Bhai Parmanand, Dr. Gokal Chand Narang to settle the Daska dispute through talks at a meeting of Hindus and Sikhs at Simla.[22] Dr. Satyapal remarked that they should avoid all internal dissensions and he hoped that Hindu and Sikh patriots would immediately settle their dispute amicably.[23] Dr. Satyapal was so important leader that the Shiromani Akali Dal on behalf of the Concialiation Board sent telegrams to him and Master Sunder Singh at Lahore requesting that Dr. Satyapal should fix 10th October, 1931 for final settlement of Daska dispute with the Hindu leaders.[24] Dr. Satyapal attended the meeting and tried to help the parties to arrive at a settlement.[25] Dr. Satyapal and S. Sunder Singh Lyallpuri earnestly appealed to both the parties to patch up their differences amicably and establish peace and amity in the province.[26] Dr. Gopi Chand, Dr. Satyapal and S. Sunder Singh expressed their wishes for the termination of the trouble.[27]

A very serious Hindu-Muslim communal riot broke out on 3rd July, 1931, at Sikandrabad, about 20 miles from Multan, near Shujabad[28], district Multan.[29] The fact was that the clash of economic interests between Muslims and Hindus was more acute here than usual.[30] A meeting of the Working Committee of the Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee was held on July 9, 1931 in Lahore at the residence of Lala Duni Chand Bar-at-Law. M. Abdullah, Secretary of the Commnal Solution Cell and Dr. Satyapal and Lala Sham Lal attended it.[31] The Working Committee decided to send a Congress deputation to study the Sikandrabad riot. The Committee condemned the action of those rioters who were responsible for such a mischief.[32]

A serious communal feud broke out at Lahore on 26th December,

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1931[33] in Anarkali Street, when the Riasati Hindu Hitaishi Sammelan presidential procession was passing through that bazaar.[34] The immediate cause of this feud was, as usual trivial, the stabbing of a Muslim youth named Nur Muhammad[35], in a quarrel between Hindu hangers—on to the procession and some Muslim shopkeepers.[36] To Unite both the communities in Lahore an urgent meeting of the Local Congress leaders was called at the house of S. Sardul Singh Caveesher, in which Dr. Satyapal participated and they requested the people to calm down and should devote all their energies in creating a peaceful atmosphere in the city.[37]

One of the most serious dispute between the Sikhs and the Muslims broke out on 29th June, 1935 at Lahore in Landa Bazaar. This was the Shahidganj Gurdwara-Mosque dispute which generated communal violence throughout 1935.[38] This feud affected all over the country and Hindu-Muslim relations became strained day by day. Dr. Satyapal remarked that he strongly believed that the patriotism of the leaders in both communities would not suffer the existence of this corroding sore which had done so much damage.[39]

A Hindu-Muslim riot occured on 31st March, 1936 at Amritsar when they were celebrating the Ram Naumi and Muharram festivals, respectively.[40] Dr. Satyapal, President, Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee condemned this Hindu-Muslim clash of Amritsar and remarked "Inter-communal squabbles lead us into a blind alley of subjugation".[41] The virus of communalism had spread throughout the country between the Hindus and the Muslims.[42] Dr. Satyapal was so prominent leader of Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a letter addressed to him, "A serious situation is arising all over India today owing to the deliberate activities of certain cammunalists who are trying their utmost to increase communal friction. The very fact that they are losing ground all along the line makes them speak and act most irresponsibility. We have to take all these matters into consideration and always keep our larger policy before us. In any event, each one of us who belongs to the organisation has to subordinate his personal inclinations to the common will. Whatever we think, it is unbecoming for us to argue with each other in public prints".[43]

Factionalism operated both within the party and outside the Congress pary in the Punjab, and the main cause of the factionalism in the party was communal riots.[44] Dr. Satyapal tried to maintain unity

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in his party and outside in the different communities. He always stressed upon the Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity in the country which he considered the only way out to throw the Britishers from the country. He appreciated Gandhiji's immeasurable and inestimable services at large to his motherland. Dr. Satyapal did not leave political activities in the province but he always tried to wash the inner dust of communal venom from the hearts of different communities of the province.

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3. *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. XXV, p. 411.
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MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE JAISALMER STATE C. 1155 to 1947 A.D.

Ravindra Kumar Sharma

After watching Satyajit Ray's award winner famous movie 'Sonar Killa', the study of the history of Jaisalmer, the remote desert city of Western India,[1] has begun to attract more attention of a wider class of scholars than before. No longer satisfied with merely political and spectacular affairs, these scholars are trying to stu y the socio-economic, cultural and such other topics of deeper interest. Prior to it, a considerable amount of work has been done in the ancient and cultural history of Jaisalmer by scholars like the late Dr. Dashratha Sharma, Dr. A. C. Banerjee, Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya, Dr. Brij Bhanu Sharma, Sh. Din Dayal Ojha, Dr. Narayan Singh Bhati, R. A. Aggarwal and Mrs. Pushpa Sharma. But the military system of the Jaisalmer State has not yet received the attention it deserves. In the present paper an attempt has been made to trace the vicissitudes of this important institution.

I

The rulers of Jaisalmer claim descent from Lord Shree Krishna, and are Rajputs of Jadon class (Yaduvanshi).[2] It would appear that, after Krishna, his clansmen scattered themselves, and many of them settled down beyond the Indus, one of their successor, Salivahan, founded a capital after his name in the south of the Punjab, which is now known as Sialkot. In A.D. 78 he defeated the Indo-Sythians in the battle near Kahror, and, in commemoration of this event, called him Sakari (foe of the Sakas or Scythians), and introduced the Saka era which is still in general use throughout India) Bhati, his grandson, who was a great warrior, brought to subjection many of his neighbouring chiefs; and the tribe, Bhati Jadon, came to be called after him.[3] Migrating from place to place, they ultimately found their abode in the Thar-Indian Desert.[4] The first member of the Bhati Jadons, who enjoyed the distinction of Rawal and who built the fort of Deogarh or Deorawar in 853, now known as Desawar, in the erstwhile Bahawalpur State, was Deoraj.[5] One of his illustrious successors, Jaisal made

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himself master of Lodorva, an immense city, with twelve gates.[6] In 1155-56 A.D. he founded the city and the present fort of Jaisalmer.[7] Rawal Jaisal was a famous administrator, who founded many forts and built several buildings in and around the Jaisalmer city. It is said that the forts of Jaisalmer, Tannot, Bikapur, Rohri, Phalodhi, Khabar, Mareth, Satal, Pugal, Barmer, and Junagarh were erected by him.[8]

In course of the time he was succeeded by Shalivahan, Bisaldeo and Kelanji and they too remained busy in external and internal conflicts and wars against their neighbours.[9] They were succeeded by Jaitsi, Rao Tiloksi and Mulraj, who was a gallant fighter of the clan and was famous for the 'Saka of Jaisalmer'.[10] The aggression continued up to the foundation of Tughluq and Lodi dynasties at Delhi.[11] In fact the Mameluq Sultans confined themselves only up to the border town of Rajasthan but Alla-ud-din took an incentive in this direction.

During the time of Alla-ud-din Khalji Rawal Duda was the ruler of Jaisalmer.[12] Due to 'military reasons',[13] severe battle was fought between Alai forces and the army of Jaisalmer which again resulted in a heroic Saka.[14] Tughluq Sultans too intervened in this desert land and we have lot of informations about their military activities in this region.[15] Jaisalmer also fought against the devastating attack of Amir Taimur on their border check posts[16], specially on Bhatner[17], one of the strongest fort of Bhati State. But Saiyyid and Afghan sources are silent about Jaisalmer.

Therefore it can be presumed that during Saiyyid-Afghan era Jaisalmer remaind free from external threat, particularly from Delhi Sultante side. During this period the rulers of Jaisalmer extended their territories.[18] From military point of view Jaisalmer was a headache for the army of the Sultans of Delhi. This was not because they were militarily powerful, but because geographically they were far off from Central capital and it was not easy for the Sultans of Delhi to keep it under their control. During entire period of Delhi Sultanate, the rulers of Jaisalmer took advantage of this geographical seclusion.[19] It is important to find that the Bhati rulers of Jaisalmer ordinarily did not try to be on the offensive for they were militarily not in a position to do so, thus they mostly fought and resisted the army of the Sultans, when the later occupied their territories.[20]

II

Emperor Babur and his commanders[21] remained busy in the eastern and south-west sector of his empire but his son Himayun had a chance

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to visit Jaisalmer.[22] From military point of view both were not in a position to annex the territories towards Jaisalmer. Taking advantage of the situation Rawal Maldeo and Rawal Karam remained unchallanged in the 'Thar' area.[23] But with the accession of Rawal Har Raj the political as well as military history of Jaisalmer entered into a new phase of increasing Mughal Supremacy over Rajasthan. Moreover the throne which Har Raj acquired was not a bed of roses. Internal chaos and external danger threatened the existence of his state.[24]

Therefore, the Bhati prince decided to submit before the Mughal Emperor Akbar and subsequently he joined 'Mansabdari System of the Mughals'[25] and were obliged to maintain an army according to their Mansabs for which they were given surplus land Jagirs.[26] The rulers of Jaisalmer fought many battles under the Mughal commanders and sometimes they joined Mughal Muhims as an auxiliary commander of the Mughal Forces.[27] After the Mughal military collaborations, the Mughal system of warfare was initiated by the Bhati rulers of Jaisalmer.[28] But one should not forget that though the military system of the Jaisalmer state had an influence of the Mughal military system[29], yet it was different from the latter to some extent, of courses the designations and official work were similar to the Mughal system but their functions were quite different. The Mughal military system was based on Mansabdari system[30] whereas the military system of Jaisalmer was based on Jagirdari system[31] which remained in force during entire period of medieval era.

Thus, being acquainted with the military system of the Mughals and realising its superiority they adopted useful elements from it to increase the efficiency of their armies.[32] During the height of the glory of the Mughal power the army commanders won laurels for themselves by waging wars under the banner of Delhi.[33] But with the fall of the Mughal paramountcy they, being devoid of the means of advancement, fell on devouring one another, the army, nobility and government machinery soon developed a sort of hostile spirit against their ruler and they became sometimes over ambitious and even uncontrollable at times.[34] Every Jagirdar tried to have the upper hand of the affairs in Jaisalmer. They engaged themselves in family feuds, internecine wars, palace intrigues and self-inflicted blood-baths which necessarilly produced a ruinons effect on them all alike[35]. In consequence, the 'Fasadi' became the arbiters of the fortunes of Jaisalmer. The Pathans, The Pakhtuns and Sindhis also plundered and spoiled their land ruthlessly[36].

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III

So it can be presumed that medieval system became absurd now. During the reign of Maha Rawal Mulraj some more slackness did creep into the age old system[37]. Moreover their defeat in the battles of Phalodhi, Satalmer, Jaisalmer[38] Pokran[39] and Nagaur[40] and the results of the battle of Lalsot, Harmara, Merta and Patan convinced the rulers of Jaisalmer that an army modelled on European patterns was definitely superior to the 'Native' forces. Therefore, they tried to effect a change. For this British authority was contacted. On their counterpart Britishers were waiting for appropriate time as this is clearly reflected from the Wellesley papers. For example Lord Wellesley in a letter to Lord Lake, commander-in-chief of the armies of British company in India commented on the infirm and deplorable condition of the Rajputs, including Jaisalmer and other states, and apprehended that they could easily fall victims to an aggression from the enterprising spirit of France, or the ambition of Russia, or even the violence and rapacity of the Afghan tribes or of other Asiatic nations inhabiting the northern and western countries of Asia[41]. The rise of such a colossus was bound to produce reactions of enormous magnitude in the minds of the British people, who were alarmed at the facility afforded by the advanced post of M. Perron's army towards the Indus, of aiding the invasion of British India through that quarter not very far from Jaisalmer. Therefore the government of Jaisalmer as well as some farsighted British officials recognized that nothing but British intervention could rescue Jaisalmer from this miserable "condition of extreme degradation"[42]. Maha Rawal Mulraj of Jaisalmer, particularly made repeated requests for British protection, offering either tribute, or territorial cession, or even "the entire management of the State, the appointment of ministers, and the complete obedience and subserviency of the court and the military in every way"[43]. But still Britishers were not very keen to sign a treaty for want of economic reasons, desert and distance from their military headquarters.[44]

IV

Though the distance of Jaisalmer "made it an object of little solicitude" to the British Government, they could not obviously disregard its strategical and commercial importance and its appeal for protection[45]. To quote Col. James Tod, "To have disregarded the appeal of Jaisalmer for protection, to have made her the sole exceptions in all Rajputana from our amicable relations, would have been to consign her to her numerous enemies, and to let loose the spirit of rapine and revenge, which

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it was the main object of all those treaties to suppress; the Bhatis would have become a nation of robbers, the Bedouins of the Indian desert. Jaisalmer was the first link in a chain of free states, which formerly united the commerce of the Ganges with that of the Indus, but which interminable feuds had completely served; the possibility of reunion depending upon a long continuance of tranquility and confidence this object alone would have warranted our alliance with Jaisalmer. But if we look to futurity, to the possible invasion of India, which can be best effected through the maritime provinces of Persia, the valley of the Indus will be the base of the invader's operations. The possesion of Jaisalmer would then be of vital importance, by giving us the command of upper Sindh, and enabling us to act against the enemy simultaneously with our armies east of the Delta, the most practicable point of advance in to India"[46]. Therefore, ultimately it was decided by the British to sign a treaty with the Government of Jaisalmer on December 12, 1818, Metcalf concluded, at Delhi, a treaty with the agents of Maha Rawal Mulraj[47]. It is said that Mehta Salim Singh, the all-powerful minister of Mulraj, held long and serious consultations with his oracles before the conclusion of the alliance. Mehta Salim Singh was doubtful of the security of his authority if the Maha Rawal became a subordinate ally of the company (Government of), but ultimately he had to abandon his hesitations, he could not take the greater risk of keeping Jaisalmer as the sole State in Rajputana outside the pale of British protection, "which would have left him to the mercy of those enemies whom his merciless policy had created around him." This is interesting to note here, that, further, the company did not appear to be inclined to disturb him his office, rather it engaged to remove his apprehensions as to external foes. But he tried, though unsuccessfully, to provide in the treaty that the office of Diwan would be hereditary in this family[48]. In the history of Jaisalmer the work and activities of Mehta Salim Singh need to be revised in the light of newly discovered[49] sources which throw a flood of light, specially on his civil and military activities[50]. By the year 1819 all the Rajput states including Jaisalmer State, had entered into alliance with the East India Company[51]. The treaty concluded by Lord Hastings with the Jaisalmer State was one of the same general character, being based on the same principles. The British treaty with Jaisalmer involved the exchange of British protection and security for subordinate cooperation and the payment of tribute or military service or both. The terms of the treaty did not generally sanction any interference in the internal administration of the state[52].

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So far as Jaisalmer was concerned, the company did not contemplate a close connection with this remote territory, while for reasons stated earlier it was not considered expedient to leave it entirely beyond the pale of British control and protection. The treaty[53] with Jaisalmer contained the usual conditions of prepetual alliance and subordination (Articles 1 and 4) in addition to two special clauses : (1) The posterity of Maha Rawal Mulraj should succeed to the principality of Jaisalmer (Article 2), (2) In the event of any serious invasion directed towards the overthrow of the principality of Jaisalmer or other danger of great magnitude occurring to the principality, the British Government would exert its power for the protection of the State, provided that the cause of the quarrel be not ascribable to the Maha Rawal of Jaisalmer (Article 3)[54]. This is important to note here that no tribute was demanded from Jaisalmer nor was any liability imposed upon it for furnishing troops at the requisition of the British Government[55]. After the conclusion of the treaty with the Jaisalmer State the new political and military system had to be placed on a regular footing and on a permanent basis. Sir David Ochterlony with his "approved diplomatic and military experience, judgement and ability", was appointed Resident in Rajputana and Commissioner-General for the affairs of the Rajput states (1818)[56]. Col. James Tod's thorough acquaintance with the affairs of Rajputana, particularly Eastern States, accounted for his selection by the Governor-General to represent him in the court of the Eastern Rajput States with the title of 'Political Agent'. Later he was designated 'Political Agent to the Western Rajput States'. To his former duties was added the conduct of political and military relations with the western Rajput States such as Marwar and Jaisalmer[57]. Under him military situations tended to improve. Although there were encouraging signs of improvement, a satisfactory settlement of the military affairs of the Jaisalmer State could hardly be achieved within a few years[58]. The changes in military system during this period were un-important except for 'artillery units' because in the beginning Britishers were also not very keen to change the Rajput character of the Jaisalmer army[59]. During the period under reference the military system of Jaisalmer was based on the famous Rajput model[60]. The framework of the ancient Indian rulers had been improved and reorganised by the rulers of Jaisalmer at the various stages and can be studied under the following heads.

V

Recruitment and composition—

There was no difficulty in obtaining recruits for the army service. Every Jaisalmeri was considered to be a soldier in the State as soon as he

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was able to hold a sword or musket. In the initial state of home training of men, women and children village martial games and practical warfare was undertaken by them and soon they attached themselves to a chief. However, direct recruitment was also available for job seekers of any community[61]. There were no arrangements for medical examination and physical fitness was determined on the basis of appearance rather than by any strict regulations as to age, height, chest and weight[62], but every able bodied young chap was always preferred. The descriptive rolls of the Jaisalmer soldiers were prepared according to the contemprary practice which was based on the Mughal patterns. Later on British pattern was also adopted[63].

The army of Jaisalmer was composed of a number of classes such as Rajputs, Muslims, Afghans of Trans-Indus districts of north-west frontier and Firangis[64]. There was no bar on any community for joining the State army but Rajputs formed the overwhelming majority of the Jaisalmer army[65]. During the period of our study, Rajput enjoyed a position of preponderance in the army. It reveals from the Fauj Bahis of Jaisalmer that in the regular infantry Rajput constituted more than fifty percent. The same was the case in the regular cavalry[66]. In the Jagiri Fauj they also formed a majority[67], while in the other branches, artillery, irregular, infantry and garrisons, they were in a minority. Muslims formed the majority in the artillery regiments[68]. The despicable position of the Jagiri Fauj of the Jaisalmer may well be gathered from the Khyat of Jaisalmer[69]. Generally the eldest son inherited the throne and the remaining sons of the ruler were given Jagirs to maintain themselves. Thus there was a network of the Jagirdars of the ruler's class. They not oniy paid Rekh but also rendered military services whenever needed[70]. Jagirdar of the Jaisalmer state was bound to supply a levy whenever required by the Darbar. For this every Jagirdar had to maintain a fixed number of soldiers[71]. The number of horses to be maintained depended on the income of the Jagir[72]. The Jagirdar troop comprsed, like the state army, all three arms, infantry, cavalry and camel corps[73]. The major chiefs generally had Sawars, Paidals, and in some cases Bandukchis too[74], whereas minor chiefs had Sawars alone[75]. The infantry of the Jagirdars had both the forms : regular and irregular. The cavalry was of the irregular type and artillery consisted of small guns and swivels. The number of horses and foot to be supplied by a Bhomia in the Jaisalmer state varied for each thousand of rupees of annual rent[76].

Pay, Allowances, Deductions, Honours and Rewards—

All officers and soldiers, were subject to the state pay rules and

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regulations time to time laid down by the authority[77]. There were two modes of Payment in vogue during the Bhati rule. (i) assignment of land, (ii) cash payment. The officers paid by the former mode, were known as Jagirdars, while those paid by the latter were called Naqdiwala[78]. But there were a large number of soldiers and officers, who received their payment partly in cash and partly in Land grants[79]. The payment of Jagir's soldiers were made through their chief[80], whereas the payments of Fauj Kilajat were made through their Kiladars[81], the regular army received systematic and regular payments[82]. All acconnts were maintained by the Bakshikhana which worked under the supervision of the Diwan and controlled by Bakhshi Fauj.[83] Bakhshi was assisted by a number of officials, such as Khazanchi, Potedar and Munshi[84], oftenly there was no strict regularity or punctuality observed in the matter of payment for irregulars. In Jaisalmer pay was seldom issued before the irregular troops were many months in arrears[85]. This is reflected from the Fauj Bahis of Jaisalmer that pay was always four or six months in arrears, particularly in the case of mercenary Fauj, and it was due to financial difficulties of the state[86]. However Aligols were always paid in cash but it was just opposite in the case of mercenaries and that too was due to certain military reasons. During the later part of the seventeenth century thousands of 'soldiers of fortune' (mercenaries) ever ready to transfer their services to any one who promised to pay them a little more handsomely, compelled the Bhati rulers of Jaisalmer to keep the arrears of mercenary soldiers pending to keep them in their service[87]. But one should not forget that from the times of Rawal Duda to Mulraj the regular troops were always liberally paid[88]. There was not much difference in their emoluments whether they served in the field or in the Muhim or in the peace areas, except field allowance and that too was very little. It is interesting to note here that only the deductions approved by the Government could be charged[89]. Severe action was taken against any body, may be a Jagirdar or a military officer, if he made any unauthorised deduction[90].

The principal modes of rewards may be enumerated as award of Jagirs, weapons like swords, guns etc., clothing like Khilat, Poshak, Pagri, ornaments like bangles, gold necklaces and strings of pearls, cash donations, increments and promotions, titles, medals and certificates, horses and elephants with gold and silver saddle and howdhas, kettle-drums and standards[91]. The value of reward was decided by the Maha Rawal on the spur of the moment and could amount to anything ranging

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from few Kaldars to more than a lakh which was known as Lakh Pasav[92]. Lakh Pasav were also granted to the Charanas and Barathas, who also used to write state military history[93].

Officers—

Like other Rajput states in Jaisalmer, too, it was considered as sacred and one of the most important military duties of the Bhati King to lead his army in the field of battle and almost all the important campaigns were invariably conducted by Bhati King in person. He was the supreme commander, after him was the Senapati followed by Diwan, Bakhshi, Kotpal, Daroga-i-Selekhana, Daroga-i-Pheelkhana, Daroga-i-Shutarkhana, Havaldar, Jamadar and Chabuksawar[94]. After British collaborations British designations were also introduced.

Leave Rules—

It was customary with the Bhati rulers of Jaisalmer to grant general leave for couple of week before Dussehra Festival[95]. This was perhaps the best period for leave, because after Dussehra expeditions were resumed as per the requirement of the war customs of the Rajputs, which was a common practice among the princely states of medieval Rajputana. It was also customary to send whole regiments on furlough. They were allowed frequently to go out of state during the course of their sanctioned leave[96]. But Ghair-Hazirl was not tolerated. If a soldier was absent for seven consecutive turns of Pehredari his pay was cut, but if he did not explains the reason within stipulated time, the penalty was dismissal, and all pay due was communicated. There were no definite rules in regard to the leave of the Foreign officers in the state military service. They could easily get casual leave, if they insisted as Dilerkhan got it on the occasion of festival[97]. Soldiers who went on leave for their own business received no pay while doing no duty. However absence on the ground of illness was overlooked as this is reflected from the Bimarinamah of Bar Singh Bhati given in the Fauj Bahi of Jaisalmer[98].

Punishment, Discipline—

The State had no written military code containing regulations as to the amount and nature of punishment applicable to the various kinds of military crimes. Every case was decided on its merit. The law applied was based on usage and custom prevalent in the State. There were no fixed guiding principles as to where there any regulations defining the amount of penalty to be inflicted for a particular offence. However, a

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few general observations may be made on the basis of the cases decided. Dismissal was resorted to in the most serious cases, usually such as long overstay of leave, absence from duty, proved disloyalty, sedition and continued absence without leave[99]. It may be noted that no communal considerations had any weight with the Bhati rulers. Their religious policy being one of toleration, no discrimination was ever made between one soldier and another on grounds of religion. The ring leaders of a Fasad always got severe punishment than the rest. Maha Rawal Gaj Singh very ferocious in meeting out punishment to his Jagirdars on the serious pretext[100]. It is difficult to form a clear conception about the ideas of punishment adopted during sixteenth to eighteenth century for there are somuch of contradictory evidences available in the Rajasthani sources. But still fine and imprisonment remained more common punishments awarded in the case of murders. Dismissal was also common practice in use[101]. Degradation or reduction in rank and pay was awarded to officers guilty of misconduct like oppressiveness, insubordination and negligence of duty[102]. For graver offences they could be dismissed. Deduction of pay sort of fine was the most common penalty[103].Enforcement of discipline in the rank was primarily the duty of the officers of the unit or Jagirdar in case of the Jagir troops. They were also empowered to dispose off routine cases[104]. But the more serious cases had to be reported to the state Government after careful investigation by them[105]. The cases of Jagirs were dealt directly by the Maha Rawal of Jaisalmer[106]. The Rajput soldiers were famous for discipline and loyalty.

Divisions and Uniform—

There was no division into regiments of the troopers enlisted for Jaisalmer army. The only divisions were those created by reason of each chief known as Thikanedar or more commonly Jagirdar having his own following of troops such as Bhati troops, Rother, Sindhi, Multani and Firangi troops[107]. So it can be presumed that there was no division into regiments of the troobs except infantry, cavalry, mounted or unmounted during medieval era of Jaisalmer's history. It was after the advent of European powers and their contacts with the rulers of Jaisalmer which ultimately led to the formation of modern regimental system[108].

As for uniform, the only sign of its originality was a Keshariya Pagh worn by all in the army with white Angrakha.[109] For the great mass of the Jagiri Fouj there was usually no uniformity of army dress, but in a general way each class of Jagiri Fouj dressed in a similar style, Bhati in one way, Sindhi and Multani in another and could be distinguished from each other. In peace, red turban and white Angrkha were worn

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according to the fashion and style of their society passing all through the ages[110].

Infantry, Cavalry, Elephant and Camel Corps—

During 10th to 16th century infantry was termed as Paidal Sena but after Mughal collaboration called Paga[111]. Infantry was also an important wing of the army. Before Mughal collaboration' the state infantry used bow, arrow and swords. After 1620 A.D. they began to use fireman and their gunmen were called Bandukchi[112]. The infantry was mainly constituted of the Rajputs, Sindhi, Multani and Pathan soldiers. Every unit headed by their own class leader can be classified as under (a) Traditional and Remodelled (b) Regular and Irregular (c) State and Jagiri. During eighteenth century regular units were known as Palton[113]. The footmen were employed mainly for the suppression of disturbances by the local levy but in emergency equally used against the enemies[114].

The cavalry was one of the most prominent wings of the army. The cavalryman and his horse both were well protected. The sawars of Jaisalmer used armour and helmets and their horses were also caparisoned with steel and a plate for the protection of the head. The soldier had two swords, the scabbard of one was attached with the saddle of the horse, besides he had a bow and arrow, mace and battle axe[115]. Horses from far and wide were brought for sale by the traders[116]. Hindu and Muslim Sawars were frequently recruited in the sawaran unit of Jaisalmer[117]. Again the cavalry units were divided into two parts (a) Irregular and Regular (b) Jagiri Fauj and Mansabi. The number of non-combatants, attached to a cavalry regiment was generally very large but these non-combatants cost the Goverment of Jaisalmer very little. Most of them did not get more than a Kaldar in a month but the mercenary expected a portion of their stipulated pay in advance, but such payment did not always ensure their attendance at the mobilisation camp. After British collaborations, the horsemen were generally armed with muskets and matchlocks and were trained as per the British model. As this is reflected from the words of command in use in the units of cavalry during the later part of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries[118].

Besides the infantry and cavalry, the state of Jaisalmer also employed Mahavat and the war elephants. Like other Rajput states the elephant corps of Jaisalmer also used their war elephants in the similar Rajputi fashion. The war elephants were used for two correlated operations of

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the army in actual warfare, and to carry supply, food and armaments from one place to another[119]. The heavy cannons could only be taken to the battle field by as many as five elephants and therefore these cannons were referred as Gajnal, Hathnal in the contemporary sources[120]. The elephant corps was also looked after by a separate department which was known as a Mahakma Pheelkhana under the direct supervision of Daroga-i-Pheelkhana[121], who was assisted by Mushrif, Potedar, Munshi etc. The person who trained the elephant for war was known as Mahavat. Mostly Indian Muslims worked as Mahavats for the state of Jaisalmer[122], which again shows the secular composition of the army. Like horses, elephants too were clad in armour which was known as Pakhar. This was made of steel and consisted of separate pieces for the head and trunk. Besides this the elephants of war were provided with girths, Galicha, neck-ropes, bills, hooks, quivers, banners, standards, stone or arrow hurling contrivances and lances[123]. During war on the back of each beast of burden four warriors took their seats. Two among them carried swords and lances and two were excellent archers. Elephants were used either in a block or in a line or individually in the battlefields. The commander of the army used to sit in the Howdah of the elephant while commanding his army[124]. The Howdah was made high enough to protect the commander from all distant attacks. It was made of wood but was covered with iron and brass plates for protections[125]. The elephants were also used to break down the gates of forts. The elephants were known by their respective names which were recorded in the Roznamcha and day to day account of their daily diet were also maintained by the state officers[126]. With the introduction of gunpowder in warfare, the importance of the elephant corps continuously declined and so the number of elephants in the corps.

The mounted camel corps was a very useful innovation of war technology, specially in the desert of Jaisalmer. Kautilya, the famous thinker of ancient India, in his Arthasastra, has advised to use camel in the desert battle[127]. Therefore camel corps was regarded as a regular and special feature of the state army. It was also a geographical requirement of this desert state. The sandy nature of Jaisalmer favoured camel as an animal of military transport and soon the system of fighting from their back was innovated by Rawal Salivahan Singh. During the expeditions of Rawal Duda the ardent necessity of camel corps was felt particularly against the army of the Sultans of Delhi[128]. The Kingdom of Jaisalmer, is extolled as a mine of war camels[129]. Only camel can work effectively in the desert area of Rajasthan. It was for this reason

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that like the rulers of the Jodhpur State[130], the rulers of Jaisalmer State too gave maximum importance to the camel corps. We are informed by the contemporary Khyat writers that there were two thousand war camels in the Jaisalmer State[131]. The camel corps was looked after by a separate department known as Sutarkhana. The Daroga-i-Sutarkhana headed this department under the direct control of the State Bakhshi, who maintained the records of expenditure and managed other requirements of the corps[132]. Camel Sawars were put on civil as well as military duties. They were also used very effectively for patrolling and night duties[133]. Every camel rider was provided with camel-gun which was known as Sutarmal[134]. During emergencies a camel could accommodate two mounted soldiers with two Zamburak[135]. In the advance guard, few camel Sawars were also provided with banners, kettledrums and loaded with the gunpowderbags[136]. Camels were also used for police duties[137]. From 1560 A.D. to 1857 A.D. many times the state of Jaisalmer sent their camel Risala to help the Mughals[138]. This tradition continued up to the world war II when the services of the camel Risala were sought by the British Government and in that course, the camel corps won several military medals, while fighting for the British cause[139].

Arms, Ammunition :—

The Jaisalmer army used the traditional and Rajputi arms and weapons in course of their battles[140]. The department of arms and ammunition was known as Mahakma Selekhana where the Daroga-i-Selekhana maintained the records pertaining to the armoury. Almost all the arms and ammunition required for the army were manufactured and repaired in the foundries, workshops and work centres in the State of Jaisalmer, some of which were owned by the Maha Rawal's government and worked by its agencies, while others belonged to the thousands of private individuals and companies spread all over the Kingdom[141]. The Bhati rulers gave maximum importance to their Selekhana and for this they established many manufacturing centres which were known as Darbar-Ka-Karkhana. The famous manufacturing centres were Jaisalmer Bisalpur, Pokran, Mangarh, Basanpi, Barmer, Tannot, Ramgarh, Lathi, Ladrova and Shergarh etc.[142]. They were all in a flourishing state on account of the government patronage and the great demand in the country for their products. There had never been in the past in Rajasthan any restriction on the manufacture and sale of arms, nor were there any law, under the Bhati rulers of Jaisalmer. Besides, they were patronised by the Jagirdars. Traders from far and near were also engaged

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in arms trade[143]. It becomes clear from the records preserved in the Rajasthan State Archives, that there was a regular and constant production of armaments in the Jaisalmer State. Bakhshi with the assistance of his subordinates used to look after the management of state armoury. The famous arms were bow and arrow, swords, battle axe, Barcha, Ballam, Khanjar, Katar, Gurj, Peshqabaza, Khanda, Bhala, Truni, Gilota, Zirah-Bakhtar, Kirch, Zaffar, Takia and Farsha. The list of the one hundred different types of arms can be seen in the fort Bahi of Jaisalmer[144]. The study of Jaisalmer records further reveals that the Bhati rulers also got some firearms from the Mughals and later from the British Government and used them against their opponents[145].

Artillery :

In the beginning the rulers of Jaisalmer got some cannons from the Mughals and began to develop the artillery of their own. Later on they started manufacturing the heavy as well as light cannons at Jaisalmer. The department of artillery was known as Mahakma Topkhana.[146] This department used to cast cannons and was headed by a Daroga who was assisted by Amir, Mushrif, Potedar, Topchi, Golandaz, Barkandaz and Blacksmith. The guns were manufactured at Jaisalmer, Nagore, Hammirgarh, Barsalpur and Mangarh fort. Artisans were recruited from far and near and were paid lavishly.[147] The guns commonly used in Jaisalmer were made of long and broad bars of iron, joined together with iron hoops. Later they developed their guns on Mughal patterns but still the guns manufactured were notoriously crude and clumsy. The beginning of eighteenth century marked a new era in the advancement of gun technology.[148] Now guns were much better designed and battery units could use them effectively against their enemies.

During the Mughal and British Raj the artillery regiments used Howitzers, Mortars, Jazair, Jazail, Zamburak, Hathnal, Gajnal, Shutarnal, Sippa, Addha, Dhamakanali, Ram Changi, Ram Ban, Nalika, etc.[149]

The following were the main categories of the Bhati cannons : (1) heavy guns (2) light guns. There were hundreds of such guns in the possession of the army. The guns of Jaisalmer were much heavier in metal than the Mughal or the British guns. The guns of Jaisalmer had all sorts of calibres and barrel lenghts. The lowest calibre was 1.8″ for a 3 pounder and the highest 9″ for a 84-pounder.[150] Besides artillery of Mughal manufacture, state artillery units also possessed some light pieces of local make called Damaka, Ram Changi or Nalika guns. The

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shots were generally of stone or iron balls, stored all along the fort wall specially on Topburaj, and can be even seen on the fort wall of Jaisalmer.[151] But in no way the destructive capacity of state artillery was not equal to that of the mughals. However, in due course the destructive capacity of their artillery went on increasing as they came in contact of the British artillery.[152] But again it was never the equivalent to the British technology.

The rulers of Jaisalmer were fond of giving dignified and pompous names to their guns,[153] such as Surajmukhi, Sindhi Top, Multani Top, Bhawalpuri, Nagore Ki, Ram Changi, Ram Ban, Shermukhi, Gajnali, Top Jaisal, Top Gaj, Top Salim, Agre ki, Rathori Top, Hamid Top, Friangi Top, Engreji Top, Top Vijay and Top Ganesh[154] etc. The large pieces of cannons usually bore Persian or Rajasthani inscriptions in the manner of the Mughals and or other Rajput states, some times in verse some times in prose, giving the name of the maker as well as the place and the year of manufacture.[155] This is evident from the Khyat of Jaisalmer that the merchants of Sindh, Multan, Bhawalpur and Jodhpur carried on a regular trade in arms, artillery and Matchlocks all along the border of Jaisalmer and fulfilled the extra requirements of the state artillery.[156]

The guns were drawn by bullocks-cart, elephants, camel and horses.[157] After British military collaboration Ghur Topan were also introduced in the Topkhana of Jaisalmer.[158] Among the draft animals of a battery the first place was occupied by horse followed by oxen, elephants and camels. The best beast of burden were given to the Topkhana. Every battery had its camp equipage, spair, harness and saddle-sets, stores of clothing and rations, Mistrikhana, Sikligar, office equipment and records, for which additional transport was provided. These battery also comprised gun limbers, ammunition wagons and wagon limbers. For the transport of all these, each unit was provided with a large number of bullocks-carts, camel-carts, such as may be deemed sufficient for the purpose.[159]

Mercenary :

Rulers of Jaisalmer remained famous for their bravery but 'Grant Anarchy 1707-1857 A.D.' witnessed numbers of enemies' raids and rebellion of feudals against their own Governments.[160] The rulers of Jaisalmer, therefore, began to maintain a mercenary force to suppress the rebel jagirdars and to face the enemy raids.[161] The newly created

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mercenary force formed a barrier between the crown and his feudals and consequently such battalions were raised. The "turbulent vassalge" of Jaisalmer could not be overawed without the assistance of a trained, mercenary force. The Sindhi, Rohilla, Afghan and in due course foreigners too were employed by the rulers of Jaisalmer, "having cannon and sufficient discipline to act in a body", were "formidable to the Rajput cavaliers." We have definite information that Jaisalmer had a force composed of Sindhi and Afghan advanturers, under the command of General Mehrabkhan and Dilerkhan who were highly paid officers of the state.[162]

Soon the system was streamlined by the Government and Jaisalmer adopted the custom of employing mercenaries to a greater extent. In 1813 the "Foreign" army of Jaisalmer was 5,000 strong, consisting of eight battalions of Infantry with guns. Further a corps of Aligols was raised by the Maha Rawal. The Mercenary force was also known as Sihbandis. In Jaisalmer Rs. 75,000 had to be spent annually on Sihbandis.[163] The mercenaries were better paid in comparison to local recruits.

The dependence of the rulers of Jaisalmer on mercenaries was a very significant change in the state military system. Col. James Tod was fully aware of its far-reaching implications. He says : "we do not mean that the Rajput princes never employed any other than their own feudal clans, they had foreign Rajputs in their pay, but still on the same tenure, holding lands for service, but never till this period had the soldiers entertained on monthly ltipend. The hired band were entirely composed of infantry, having a slight knowledge of European tactics". He further added that "these guards were composed either of Purbia Rajputs, Sindhis, Arabs, Rohillas or Pathans. They received their orders direct from the crown, through the civil officers of the state, by whom they were entrusted with the execution of all duties of importance or dispatch. Thus they soon formed a complete barrier between the prince and his vassals, and consequently became objects of jealousy and of strife. Therefore soon they became unpopular in the state."[164]

It would appear, therefore, that the emergence of the mercenary, particularly Naga mercenaries, in the state was initially connected with the clan system and not with the external threat. It was the second stage in the process of the crown's struggle against the jagirdars, the first stage being the enlistment of foreigners.[165] The policy of the crown was "to curb, or even to extinguish," the strength of the jagirdars. But this

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policy did not succed.[166] Because the wars between the rivals were mostly economic in motive, the captains of the mercenary companies tended to regard the wars as a business, and their men as their capital. Since most of the men fighting in both rival sides were hired professionals, who might be on the same side next month, there was little point in fierce and bloody battles. Therefore, the mercenaries, who were mostly outsiders, avoided direct action vis a vis complete victory could end the employment of these armies, and so they tended to be dragged out for long as the employer's patience and money would last.

Forts and Fortifications:

Fortifications formed an equally important part of the military system and no rulers of Jaisalmer could possibly afford to neglect it. In the beginning small forts were built, mainly on strategic points but after stability and peace capital forts were erected with the consent of the masses. The capital fort of Jaisalmer was founded by Rawal Jaisal in 1155-56 A.D.[167] and it maintained its reputation for strength and strategic importance during the entire period of our study. Next in importance came the frontier forts and, one of them was the Ladrova fort which contained a huge garrison for the protection of western frontiers. The next were Ramgarh, Hammirgarh, Deravar and Bhatner. Besides state owned forts in the different military centres and cantonments, strong forts were also built by the private agencies or by Jagirdar himself mainly on strategic points for the protection of the people and were well watched and garrisoned probably under senior military officers or Jagirdar, who was generally called the Kotpal or Kiledar.[168] Every fort also had a number of junior officers. This is a standing fact of India's military history that as early as Alexander's time the Indians possessed walled cities and towns.[169] The practice of building such strong walled cities was never abandoned. In Jaisalmer the main cities were also protected by the solid city walls, made of stones and bricks, known as Shahar-Panah, which were again watched by the armed soldiers. The soldiers of Engineer Corps were well versed in repair works and handling of the siege devices.[170]

Military Transport and Supply:

The transport system of the state army was in a poor condition. For want of good roads, the transport problem in those days was beset with many difficulties. The sandy nature of the country was one of the main obstacles, the other difficulties were scarcity of labour, water and

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required materials for the purpose.[171] Besides problems the Government showed, however, little anxiety to improve the military roads. But the Caravans were well guarded by the state administration.[172] In spite of poor metalled road, the towns and cities of Jaisalmer were well connected with the neighbouring countries, particularly Jaisalmer was a transit city between eastern countries and the Sind-Sagar area and those beyond it[173]. The Caravans carrying military goods passed through it. Jaisalmer was also a 'Milan' centre for the Caravans arriving from Hyderabad (Sindh), Kabul, Multan, Jodhpur and Bikaner.[174] The other leading centres were Pugal, now known as Pokaran, Derawar, Bikapur, Phalodi and Ramdewra. The principal means of transport were camels, horses, bullocks, carts and ponies. So far as the horses are concerned, most of them were country-bred, but the best of them were imported from the Mughal territories and Trans-Indus regions like Sindh and Afganistan.[175] As regards the price of a horse it ranged from about Rs. one hundred to several thousands of rupees and depended upon the quality and breed of a horse.[176] Bullocks were almost exclusively used to drag carts of ammunition.[177] However, in time of war bulk of loads were carried out by the camel riders.[178] The camels were employed for carrying equipment, bag and baggage, Government treasure and other supplies like magazine, stores, saltpetlie, gunpowder, food supplies etc. and thus rendered an important miltary service.[179] They were also kept as stand by to help the bullocks out of their difficulties, such as when a cart went out of order or got struck in sand. In the sandy areas of Jaisalmer where the problem of transport presented peculiar difficulties, bullock carts were useless and they were discarded in favour of camels. In the summer season when wheeled traffic was difficult, much greater use was made of camel which was commonly known as the ship of the desert.[180] To fulfil its requirements of animal transport, the Jaisalmer Darbar maintained a large supply of animals, besides the thousands, which were distributed amongst the various branches of the army. There were different officers to look after the various categories of animals, such as Daroga-i-Shutrkhana, Daroga-i-Pheelkhana etc. assisted by various officials.[181]

The rulers of Jaisalmer did not have any specially organised commissariat department like the Mughal, Maratha and British, nonetheless they recognised that it was the Government's responsibility to make arrangements for the provision of supplies to their army. Later, having assumed the responsibility for provisioning their army, the Government of Jaisalmer established a number of military depots. After Mughal collaborations a separate commissariat department came into existance and

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after this supplies of foodgrains were purchased or collected in lieu of land revenue and stored in the neighbouring forts. For this purpose permanent duties were assisgned to Kiledars, Amins, Biyad Bakhshi and Hakims.[182] Occasionally, the accounts were audited and severe punishments awarded, if any embezzlement was detected or if there was any evidence of negligence of duty. No issue from the stores was possible without a letter of authority from the Diwan or Bakhshi.[183] Generally, they were reserved for emergencies, because in normal times supplies were procured from other sources. This is refelected from the history of Jaisalmer state that due to the geographical conditions, scarecity of rain and water, non-availability of agriculture products in and around the Jaisalmer state the supplies were often poor particularly during the seiges and army marches.[184]

Kettledrums, Mashalkhana, Banners :

As one of the attributes of sovereignty kettledrums were beaten at the gate of the royal palace. The kettledrums were also used and beaten during war, to mark the postition within the army.[185] The soldiers used different types of kettledrums which were known as Nagara. Earlier It was called Dhol.[186] The Nagara were made of iron hoops and engraved by gold and silver.[187] As a mark of favour kettledrums were also presented.[188] The department of Mashalkhana had to deal with the arrangements for lights. Mashal, and candles were also used in the night operations.[189]

Banners were used by the rulers as well as by their commanders. The banner was always borne by its owner. It was a common practice to use state flag ensigned state motto "Uttar Bhati, Bhar Kiwar" which means the door keeper of North (India's defence). But it was never displayed unless the ruler was present, and then only if his forces were arranged for battle or actually advancing to the attack.[190] The flag of the sovereign was seperately carried on a camel during the march.

Observations :

In the early times the Bhati army had no organization, system, discipline or military tactics worth the name. The men joined voluntarily, gave their services to the various Jagirdars, and fought battles aecording to their whims and fancies. "This deficiency of the military science was supplied by their religious zeal, singleminded devotion to the crown, strong passion of revenge and intense feeling of self-respect." Upto 15th eentury there was no proper military organization of units and sub-units

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all formed the Bhati army.[191] As per the requirements of Rajput-era, arms and equipment of Bhati soldier was quite adequate. They were armed with swords, spears, daggers and bow and arrow. But after the advent of the Mughal military power they lacked behind in this field. Ultimately Maha Rawal Harraj by realizing the military gap, finally welded them as per the requirements of Mughal Mansabdari system. We can regard Maha Rawal Harraj as the most successful imitator of Mughal war technology in the Jaisalmer state. Therefore we can safely presume that during medieval era, contrary to the popular belief, the Bhati rulers of Jaisalmer depended on a well organised logistic system for their sustenance during war. They were not mere plunderers who lived on plunder and loot alone but had a systematic and well thought out logistic plan for any military operations they undertook. Admitted that they did not have the Mughal system of maintenance and record, but, amongst the Sindh and North-Western states, they had the better system. Their military organization was deep rooted in the social and economic system of the country.[192] They obtained their military funds from land revenue, levies from the people, Jagirdars and Bhomiyas.[193] Like all medieval Rajput armies, it was also difficult problem for the rulers of Jaisalmer to maintain a large standing army. Hence Maha Rawal had only his personal bodyguard and the soldiers of Rawala[194] as the standing army of the state. But the majority of their infantry and cavalry were irregular. There was also the system of collecting and stocking all requirements for men and animal during the Dussera season. On occasions when the necessity arose due to shortage and other procurement difficulties, men, camels, and horses lived hard and they had to do with whatever was available. Budgetary controls were regorously exercised and storted had to last for the period they were catered for.[195] No over expenditure was permitted. Ration were issued with an eye on economy and these had to last for the whole period of seige or adverse season.[198]

After the down fall of Mughal empire, Mansabdari and Jagiri system, the Bhati army and the state floundered in anarchy and tyranny and consequently the glorious era of Bhati rulers come to an end. After that the military system of the Jaisalmer state suffered from many maladies. The Bhomiyas professed to serve the same Data and the same Darbar but, divided by personal jelousy, they were seldom able to pursue resolutely a concerted plan or a coherent policy and common interests were frequently sacrificed to private ends.[197] The individual mercenary

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Soldier did not look to the sovereign, or consider his interest identical with theirs. But the Rajput soldiers were still matchless, and their chivalry and gallantry constitute a very important aspect of the military history of Jaisalmer and they had to engage themselves in intermittent warfare necessitated by the circumstances of period. But again the irregular cavalry of Aligol was slow to mobilise and not generally available for prompt action or prolonged services in distant parts and the personnel of the army, therefore, had to be largely changed, the non-Rajput recruits who replaced the horsemen were mercenaries of the worst type drawn by prospects of plunder and were not bound to their masters by racial or any other offinity.[198]

It is needless to say that their enemies always attempted to exploit the dissension and disunion of the Bhati Jagirdars. It may appear strange that in the light of their past experience the Bhati chiefs of Jaisalmer did not improve their conduct. As a matter of fact, they were often aware of the evil consequences of their selfish designs and yet they persisted in their policy of self aggrandisement, for state honour and welfare of the Bhom were of little value to them.[199] When self interest prevailed so much over consideration of country welfare, it is no wonder that the officers should frequently fail to exploit the differences of their opponents by wise diplomacy and effective and timely aggression.[200]

During eighteenth century dissension and disunion were not the only evils for which the Rajputs were indebted to their love of feudalism. Moreover, at the most critical period of its military history the Bhati chiefs found themself without an able statesman or general. At the same time the nobility had lost the simplicity of life that characterised their ancestors of Rawal Kehlan and Duda's time. A military system cannot survive its military efficiency long, and unfortunately for the Bhatis their rivals were endowed with those very qualities which they themselves lacked. The Mughal and later British were imbued with a strong sense of patriotism, they combined individual self-sacrifices with national ambition, their army was well-disciplined and scientifically trained, their generals were perfect masters of military science, and the badly guided, badly equipped and badly arranged Jagiri fouj of the eighteenth century's Jaisalmer had to relinquish the unequal contest after a fierce fighting. The major course of this setback was indiscipline and that too due to the irresponsible attitude of the irregular and mercenary force;[201] and not on the part of the Rajput soldiers. The preponderance of the non Rajputs in the army naturally reacted on the warlike traditions of the Rajputs, and the number of professional Rajput soldiers inevitably declined. In

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1818 A.D. they formed only a small number in infantry as well as in cavalry which directly effected the striking capabilities of Jaisalmer army.

After the introduction of Western military technology among the Rajput states the composition and management of the Jaisalmer's army improved and so the system of warfare as this is reflected from the fouj Bahi of Jaisalmer.[202] During this phase of their military history they also took active part in the world wars when their services were sought by the British Government.[203] The world war military services of the Jaisalmer camel Risala were appreciated by the British[204] and allied powers and this glorious military tradition continued till the accession of Jaisalmer state in the Union of India when Jaisalmer camel Risala, Jaisalmer Lancers along with other units were merged into the Indian armed forces.[205]

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2. Compare, Muhnot Nancy, *Nancy-Ki-Khyat*, Vol. II, pp. 256-62; Lakhmi Chand, *Tawarikh Jaisalmer*, pp. 8-19; Jagdish Singh Gahlot, *Rajputane Ka Itihas*, Vol, I, pp. 650-58. G. N. Sharma, *Rajasthan Ka Itihas*, Vol., pp.99-100.
3. Compare, Narayan Singh Bhati, *Jaisalmer-Ri-Khyat* p.3. See Text "*Bhati Ji Garh Bhatner Basayo Samvat 342 Jad Sun Bhati Kahana Agey Jadam Vazata*" also *Nancy-Ki-Khyat*, op. cit., Vol. II., p. 261; *Tawarikh Jaisalmer*, op. cit., p. 14.
4. See couplet :

   "Mathura Kashi Pragwar,
   Gazni Aru Bhatner,
   Digam Dirwar Lodrava,
   Nammo Jaisalmer
   also

   Compare, *Nancy-Ki-Khyat*, Vol. II, pp. 259-263; *Jaisalmer-Ri-Khyat*, pp. 36-38, Jagdish Singh Gahlot, *Rajputane ka Itihas*, Vol. III, pp. 447-68.
5. *Jaisalmer-Ri-Khyat*, p. 39; *Tawarikh Jaisalmer* p. 20.
6. *Jaisalmer-Ri-Khyat*, p. 45 see text "*Ludrva Ka Pargna Ka Gam 999 Nav Se Nanunu umravan Ne Mouj Devee.*"
7. *Tawarikh Jaisalmer*, pp. 28-29; Nancy-Ki-Khyat, Vol. I, p. 279.
8. *Jaisalmer-Ri-Khyat*, p. 47; *Rajasthan Ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 660.
9. Cf. Jaisalmer-Ri-Khyat, pp. 46-51; *Tawarikh Jaisalmer*, pp.30-32; *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, pp. 496-500; *Rajasthan Ka Itihas*, Vol. I, pp. 660-65.
10. See, *Jaisalmer-Ri-Khyat*, pp. 51-56; *Nancy-Ki-Khyat*, Vol. II, pp. 286-300;

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Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXV, p. 231; *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, Vol. I, pp. 685-87.

11. Mir Masum, *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, p. 44; *Nancy-Ki-Khyat*, Vol. II, pp. 286-288; *Tawarikh Jaisalmer*, pp. 34-38; Puran Chandra Nahar, *Jaisalmer Lekh Sangrah*, Vol. III, pp. 15-20; *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars of Jaisalmer* quoted by Dashrath Sharma. See *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, Vol. I, pp. 686-87; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, p. 15, *Varda* Quarterly Vol. XXI/1, pp. 26-36; Sir Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 532; K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, pp. 81-83; Ashok Kumar Srivastva, *Khalji Sultans in Rajasthan*, pp. 132-35.

12. Sambhavanatha Temple Inscription of Jaisalmer, See text :
"Tasmin Sri Yadava Vamse Raula Sri Jaitsimha Mularaja Ratna Sinha Raula Sri Duda Raula Sri Ghatasimha Mularaja Putra Devaraja-namana Rajanobhuvan ...."also *Jain Lekh Sangrah*, Vol. III, p. 16.

13. *Nancy-Ki-Khyat*, Vol. II, p. 300. See text :
"Pehlan to Kangar Pathan ne mar kar ghoriyan 700 nagar Thatta Ka Pargana Sun Le ayo. Parwado jeeto. Pachhai Tiloksi behari Goojari ki that Ajmer ka elaka sun gher layo hajar 5000 gayan. Thana wala doysai 200 sipai gujar pakadiya.....Tiloksi Rewadiya Dilli ka Pargana me daudiya....Badshahji Ajmer Shri Khajeji Sahab ki Jat karan aya tha jara Tiloksi Ajmer ri taraf chadhiyo Ajmer gayo so Badshah ra ghora jhulan wansai aya chha tatha karwan gharan ki sahbat Le sodagir aya chha so Tilaksi ghara 100 khos kar awato thako wachan keya ayo."

14. *Jaisalmer-Ri-Khyat*, p. 56; *Tawarikh Jaisalmer*, p. 38; *Nancy-Ki-Khyat*, Vol. II., pp. 305-306.

15. Cf. Ashok Kumar Srivastva, *Khalji Sultans in Rajasthan*, pp. 138-39.

16. Yahya Bin Ahmad Bin Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Mubarkshahi*, p. 170.

17. Cf. Amir Timur, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* (ED) p. 427; Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Ranking) Vol. I., p, 355; Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah Firishta, *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (Briggs) Vol. I., p. 488; Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, *Tabkat-i-Akbari* (B. de) Vol. I., p. 279.

18. Compare, *Tawarikh Jaisalmer*, pp. 46-49; *Nancy-Ki-Khyat*, Vol. II, pp. 322-327; *Jaisalmer-Ri-Khyat*, pp. 63-66; Dayaldas, *Dayaldas-Ri-Khyat*, Vol. II, pp. 31-34.

19. Courtesy Pushpa Sharma, Khalji Sultans and Jaisalmer, paper presented, discussed in the seminar, on society culture and administration of Medieval Rajasthan and Malwa, Shree Natnagar Shodh Sansthan, Sitamau-Malwa, Madhya Pradesh, October 8-10, 1984.

20. Ravindra Kumar Sharma, *Military System of the Rajputs*, pp 478-80.

21. Cf. Zahir-ud-Din Mohammad Babur, Babarnama, (Beveridge) Vol. II, pp. 548-58; Ravindra Kumar Sharma, Kamran Ka Vifal Bikaner Abhiyan, Journal of Maha Koshal Prishad, Department of History, Ravi Shankar University, Raipur, Madhya Pradesh, 1977-78, pp. 24-28.

22. Cf. Gulbadan Begum, *Humayunnama* (Beveridge), pp. 154-157; Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, *Tabquat-i-Akbari* (B.de) p.84; Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntkhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I., p. 440; Mohammad Hindu Qasim Shah Firishta (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 93; Jauhar Aftabchi, *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat* (Stewart), pp. 58-59; Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama* (H. Beveridge), Vol. I, pp. 180-181.

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23. Cf. *Jaisalmer-Ri-Khyat*, pp. 67-68, *Mundiyar-Ke-Rathoron-Ki-Khyat*, Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur's Ms. No. 2, p. 65; *Rajputon-Ki-Khyat*, Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur's Ms. p. 195; *Marwar-Ri-Khyat*, Anoop Sanskrit Library, Lalgarh fort, Bikaner, Vol. I, p. 99; *Rathoron-Ki-Khyat*. (Old) Kaviraja Murari dan's copy, Oriental Institute, Jodhpur, p. 132; Rao *Maldeoji-Ki-Khyat*, Oriental Institute, Jodhpur, p. 299; Bankidas-Ki-Khyat, p. 125; Maldeo-Ki-Tawarikh, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, Basta No. 20 File No. 16, p. 93; *Khejarla-Ri-Khyat*, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, Basta No. 103 file No. 13, p. 18; Rathoran-Ri-Vanshavali, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, Basta No. 28, file No. 38, p. 116 etc.
24. Compare, *Nancy-Ki-Khyat*, Vol. II, pp. 341-42, *Tawarikh Jaisalmer*, pp. 54-55; Nancy, *Marwar-Pargana-Ri-Vigat* Vol. II, pp. 294-295.
25. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II., p. 518; *Marwar-Pargana-Ri-Vigat*, Vol. II, p. 296; Haridutt Govind, *Jaisalmer Ka Itihas* p. 90.
26. Cf. Ravindra Kumar Sharma, *Military System of the Rajputs*, op.cit., Chapter on the Mansabdari System. pp. 378-93.
27. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II, p. 518; Jahangir, *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*, p. 159; *Nancy-Ki-Khyat*, Vol. II, pp. 348-50; Muhnot Nancy, *Marwar Pragna-Ri-Vigat*, Vol. pp. 295-308; *Jaisalmer-Ki-Khyat*, pp. 74-76; *Tawarikh Jaisalmer*, p. 54; Kavi Raja Shyamal Das, *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 1763.
28. Cf. Ravindra Kumar Sharma, *Military System of the Rajputs*, Chapter on the Military Collaborations.
29. For Mughal Military System see, Willian Irvine, The *Army of the Indian Moghals*, pp. 1-80, 135-210.
30. Cf. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, (Blochmann) Vol. I, pp. 178-85; Akbarnama Bib. Ind. III, p. 671 also Moreland, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, Oct. 1936, pp. 641-65; Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*; William Irvine, The Army of the Indian Mughals, pp. 3, 42, 58, 59; Athar Ali *Nobility under Aurangzeb*, pp. 1-60; R. P. Tripathi, *The Army organization of Akbar*, Ind. Histo. Records comm., Vol. V, 1923, pp. 56-66; A. J. Qaisar, A note on the date of the institute of Mansab under Akbar, Proce. Ind. Hist. Cong. 24th session, Cal. 1963, pp. 155-57; N. A. Siddiqui, Implication of the month scales in the Mansabdari system, Proce. *Ind. Hist. Cong.* 24th session Cal. 1963, pp. 157-62; Irfan Habib, The Mansab System 1595-1637 A.D., Proce, *Ind. Hist. Cong.* 29th session, Patiala, 1967, pp. 221-249.
31. See, *Jaisalmer-Ri-Khyat*, pp. 72, 109; *Tawarikh Jaisalmer*, pp. 109, 123, *Annals and Antiquties of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, pp. 551-53; Jagdish Singh Gahlot, *Rajasthan Ka Itihas*, Vol. I, pp. 1586-96; *Imperial Gazetteers of India*, (O. S.) p. 123; G. N. Sharma, *Social life in Medieval Rajasthan* pp. 268-289.
32. Cf. Ravindra Kumar Sharma, *Military System of the Rajputs* op. cit, Chapter on the Impact (henceforth RK S Thesis.)
33. Kavi Raja Shyamaldas, *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 1763.
34. Political consultations 1808, May 30, No. 57, October 17, No. 64, Secret consultations, 1809 August 5, Nos. 4, 5 National Archives of India, New Delhi,
35. Rajputana Agency Office Records, Vol. XXII, pp. 351-54, N. A. I., New Delhi.
36. Tod, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 1227-28, 1235; Col. G. B. Maleson, *An Historical Sketch of the Native States of India*, pp. 121, 348; James Mill, *History of*

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British India, with notes and continuation by H. H. Wilson, Vol. VII, p. 69, The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XIV, p. 3.

37. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, pp. 526-28; Jagdish Singh Gahlot, op. cit., 84-87; Babu Loknath Ghosh, *Modern History of Indian Chiefs Raja, Jamidars* Vol. I, See Chapter XV.
38. *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 181; Gulbadan Begum, *Humayunnama*, pp. 155-56; Nizam-ud-Din-Ahmad, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 84; Badaoni, op. cit., 440; Jauhar Aftabchi, *Tazkirat-ul-Wakiat* (Stewart), p. 75.
39. *Nancy-Ki-Khyat*, Vol. II, pp. 348-350; *Marwar-Re-Paragna-Ri-Vigat*, Vol. II, pp. 298-305.
40. *Tawarikh Jaisalmer*, p. 67; Jodhpur Rajya-ki-Khyat, Vol. III, p. 7, Dayaldas Ri-Khyat Vol. II, p. 79; Vir Vinod, Vol. II, op. cit. p. 853.
41. Instructions to Lord Lake included in a despatch to the secret committee dated July 13, 1804, Vide Martins Welleseley despatches Vol. IV, p. 136, Notes by the Marquess of Wellesley June 28, 1803 Vide W. D. Vol. III, p. 169, National Archives of India, New Delhi.
42. Governor General to secret committee july 13, 1804 Vide Wellesley despatches Vol. IV, p. 135, Wellesley to Lake July 28, 1803 vide W.D. Vol. III, p. 241, N.A.I. Delhi.
43. Cf. C. O. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries* Vol. III, pp. 149-50; Persian correspondence (letters from Jaisalmer state) *English Translations*, S. N. 49, Part I, No. 180. National Archives of India, New Delhi.
44. Foreign and Political consultations, October 17, 1808, Nos. 64-65. National Archives of India, New Delhi. Also Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 1236.
45. Cf. Sukumar Bhattacharyya, *The Rajput States and the East India Company*, pp. 206 and 225.
46. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, pp. 1236-1238.
47. C. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and neighbouring countries*, Vol. III, pp. 212-213.
48. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 1236; A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput States and the East India Company*, p. 140.
49. Pushpa Sharma, *Maharaj* Surat Singh Ke Aprakasit Abhilekh, *Journal of Birla Education Trust, Rajasthan*, 1979 Vol. XXII, pp. 41-43. Also her paper entitled Riyast Bhawalpur Ke Do Mahatavapuran Parwane, *Journal of the Rajasthan Sahitya Samiti*, Rajasthan, 1979, Vol. XXII, pp. 12-13 etc.
50. Pushpa Sharma, Jaisalmer ke Patra, *Maru Bharti Quarterly*, 1980, Vol. XXVI pp. 18, 19. Also her paper entitled Rahdari Sambandhit Parawane (Jaisalmer) *Journal of M. M. M. Institute*, Uttar Pradesh, 1979, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 15-22.
51. Aitchison, *op. cit.*, Vol. III pp. 212-213.
52. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 149-50.
53. *Ibid.*, Representation, Appendix IX, section 69 and 70.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
55. Jagdish Singh Gahlot, *Rajputane ka Itihas*, Vol. I, pp. 683-84.
56. Rajputana Agency office Records, Vol. XXI, pp. 295-317, Vol. XXII, pp. 420-22, 502-505, N.A.I., New Delhi.
57. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 173-174, 177-178, Scret Consultations, 1818, March 6, No. 7,

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Selections from Ochterlony papers 1818-1825 edited by Sinha and Dasgupta, pp. 20-25, 60, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

58. Tod, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 528-29, Vol. II, pp. 1094, 1243.
59. RKS Thesis, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Military Collaborations, pp. 448-61.
60. Cf. Ravindra Kumar Sharma, Thesis, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-71.
61. Fauj Bahi Jaisalmer, V. S. 1818.
62. We do not find any reference in the contemporary sources that ever any soldier, at the time of recruitment was examined from medical point of view. This is relevant to note here that the physical fitness of Bhati commanders and soldiers were praised and appreciated by the writers of every age. See, *Nancy-Ki-Khyat*, Vol. II, pp. 305-306. Compare,

"Sandu Hunfen Soviyo,
Shahab Dujjan Salla
Vidon Mathon Boliyo,
Gitan Duhan Galla"

also

Jaisalmer Ki Khyat p. 56; *Tawarikh Jaisalmer*, p. 39; Jaisalmer Fauj Bahi V. S. 1879; Bakhshikhana Kagzat Jaisalmer, V. S. 1883.

63. Foreign Political 1899, June 30, Secret Consultations 1818, October, 1944 file No. 2474, Representation P. 26, Rajputana *Agency Records 1929 to 1948 also The Report on the Administration of Jaisalmer State for the year* 1914-15 to 1939-45 A.D., N.A.I., New Delhi.
64. Cf. RKS Thesis, op. cit., Chapter on the Recruitment,
65. Bakhshikhana Jaisalmer, V. S. 1892.
66. Fauj Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1888.
67. Mohata Mahajana Ki Likhyatey, Tawarikh Tawari, pp. 38-40, Henceforth Tawarikh Tawari.
68. Topkhana Bahi Jaisalmer, V. S. 1889.
69. Jaisalmer-Ki-khyat, p. 72.
70. Jagdish Singh Gahlot, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 688.
71. Cf. RKS Thesis, chapter on Jagirs, pp. 268-316.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Cf. Tod, op. cit., Vol. II, Chapter on Jagirdars.
74. The Thakur of Pokaran always maintained a good proportion of mounted Sawars. During the later part of the sixteenth century he had Barkandaz and Topchi also. See, Marwar-Paragana-Ri-Vigat, Vol. II, pp. 298-305
75. The chiefs of Lathi, Hammirgarh, Chharu, Devikot, Kisangarh, Dingarh, Ramgarh, Ramkot, Lodrva and Baru had Infantry and few cases cavalry and sometime infantry alone.
76. Tawarikh Jaisalmer, pp. 109, 123; Jaisalmer-Ki-Khyat, pp. 72, 130.
77. Fauj Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1818.
78. Fauj Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1848.
79. Tawarikh Jaisalmer, p. 109.
80. Fauj Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1858.
81. Bahi Kila Jaisalmer V. S. 1878.
82. Bahi Fauj Jaisalmer V. S. 1858.
83. Bahi Bakhshikhana Jaisalmer V. S. 1878.
84. For Rajput Bakhshi see, Ravindra Kumar Sharma, Rajput Shasan Men Bakhshi,

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Quarterly Journal of Rajasthan Sahitya Samiti, Bissau Vol. XVI, No. IV October 1973, pp. 29-31.

85. Compare, A. C. Banerjee, Lectures on Rajput History, p. 148; J. N. Sarkar, Fall of Mughal Empire, Vol. IV, p. 72.
86. Fauj Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1878.
87. Cf. RKS Thesis Chapter on the Mercenaries, pp. 578-84, 93.
88. RKS Thesis, appendix XXI, Jaisalmer.
89. Fauj Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1888.
90. Tawarikh Tawari, pp. 68, 81 also representation, Treaties Section 77 pp. 26, 52 appendix IX and he Karita of Lord Kenning addressed to Maha Rawal Ranjit Singh of Jaisalmer containing the reference regarding Khilats.
91. Compare, Tawarikh Tawari, p. 138; Bakhshikhana Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1838, also Foreign-Political Consultations July 13, 1855 No. 84-85 National Archives of India, New Delhi.
92. Lakh pasav was generally granted to chief Bartha or History writer of the state it granted to Bartha Peetha.
93. The eminent Baraths were Alhaji Bartha of Harwa Gaon, Mandan Dadhwari of Dadhwara village, Bhartha Pithwa of Bogniyai Village, Sadhu Hufkaran of Jaisal, Kavi Kushal Labha of Jaisalmer, and Mehta Ummed Singh see, Muhnot Nancy, Nancy-Ki-Khyat, Vol. II, pp. 305-306-307; Nand Kishore Sharma, Jaisalmer Samarika, pp. 18-19; Narayan Singh Bhati Parampara, Vol. XIII; Nand Kishore, Jaisalmer Parichaya, Vol. I, pp. 50-56; Jaisalmer Smarika, pp. 17, 19, 20-21.
94. Cf. RKS Thesis, chapter on the Army Personnels, pp. 131-46.
95. Compare, the cases of Bhati Ugam Singh Davi and Jashar Gaj Singhot Bhati, Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1878.
96. *Ibid.*, Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1878.
97. Fauj Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1888 also Ravindra Kumar Sharma, Attharvi Satabdi Men Rajput Sanya Prabandha, Journal of M. M. Researh Institute, U. P., Vol. IX, 1973, pp. 17-21.
98. Fauj Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1903.
99. Compare, Tawarikh Jaisalmer p. 71, Tod, op. cit,, Vol. II, pp. 528-530; Jagdish Singh Gahlot, Rajasthan Ka Itihas, Vol. I, pp. 684-87.
100. Compare, Tawarikh Tawari, pp. 138-45.
101. Compare, *Ibid.*, p. 72.
102. Tawarikh Jaisalmer, p. 63.
103. Bakhshikhana Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1888.
104. Cf. RKS Thesis, Chapter on the Jagiri Fauj.
105. Siyah Kagzat Jaisalmer (Confidential section) V. S. 1889.
106. Jagir file No. 21, Barsalpur case V. S. 1827 Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
107. Firangi i.e. Foreigners, This term for European is very old in India, Cf. Col. Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, Hobson, Jobson, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian words p. 353.
108. Cf. RKS Thesis, pp. 268-81.
109. See, Wall paintings, Patwa Haveli Jaisalmer also Tod, Vol. II, p. 1368.
110. See, Paintings of Jaisalmer Palace.
111. Cf. RKS Thesis, chapter on the Infantry, pp. 206-38.
112. Cf. William Irvine, The Army of the Indian Moghuls, pp. 73-103, 167.

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113. Cf. RKS, Thesis, op. cit, Chapter on the Infantry.
114. Tawarikh Tawari, op. cit. pp. 118-19.
115. Arms section, fort museum Jaisalmer. Cf. RKS thesis, Chapter on The Arms and Armoury.
116. Tawarikh Tawari, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.
117. Fateh Mohammad and Hamid Khan were the famous riders of their times. See Chehra Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1899.
118. Cf. Foreign-Political Nos. 70-74, A-November 1865, Foreign-Political Nos. 194-95 B, December 1877 National Archives of India, New Delhi.
119. Cf. Ravindra Kumar Sharma, Rajput elephant corps : An Assessment, Cultural Contours of India, Part-II, Vol. I, 1981, pp. 299-301.
120. Cf. William Irvine, The Army of the Indian Moghuls, pp. 109, 135.
121. Cf. RKS Thesis, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Army Personnels.
122. Cf. RKS Thesis, chapter on the Elephant Corps. pp. 378-80.
123. *Ibid.*, pp. 378-80.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 382.
125. See, Howdah preserved in the fort museum of Jaisalmer and for description RKS Thesis, op. cit., Chapter on the Elephant Corps.
126. Roznamcha Pheelkhana Jaisalmer V.S. 1893, The elephant houses were known as kadli-vana. Cf. Tawarikh Jaisalmer, p. 221.
127. Kautilya, Arthashastra, X.
128. Compare, Mir Masum, Tarikh-i-Masumi, p. 44; Nancy-Ki-Khyat, pp. 295-300; Jaisalmer-Ki-Khyat, pp. 54-55; Tawarikh Jaisalmer, pp. 36-38; Dashratha Sharma, Rajasthan through the ages, Vol. I, pp. 686-87; *Indian Historical quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, p. 231.
129. Kanhaiya Lal Sahal Rajasthani Kahawaten, see Cuplet "Karhal Jaisalmer" p. 230; Nand Kishore Sharma, Jaisalmer Parichaya p. 30.
130. Cf. Ravindra Kumar Sharma, Military system of the Jodhpur State, C. 1212 to 1947, A.D., K.U. Research Journal Arts and Humanities, Vol. XVI-XVII, 1982-83, pp. 117-26.
131. Jaisalmer-Ki-Khyat, pp. 38-9; Marwar Paragana-Ri-Vigat, Vol. II, pp. 5-6; Maldeo-Ki-Tawarikh, Basta No. 20, File No. 16, p. 95, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
132. Bakhshikhana Jaisalmer V. S. 1902.
133. Visheswar Nath Reu, Marwar Ka, Itihas, Vol. I, p. 133.
134. Cf. William Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, pp. 135-36.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
136. Tawarikh Tawari, op. cit., pp. 75-81.
137. Fauj Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1899.
138. Cf. RKS Thesis Chapter on the Camel Corps.
139. Political Consultations July 13, 1885 Nos. 84-85, Kharita of Lord Chamsford addressed to Maha Rawal of Jaisalmer dated June 30, 1919, Representation appendix, IX, pp. 26, 54 etc.
140. Cf. RKS Thesis, Chapter on the Arms and Armoury, pp. 441-63.
141. Fauj Bahi Jaisalmer, V. S. 1903.
142. Tawarikh Tawari, pp. 88, 89, 103.

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143. Cf. RKS Thesis, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Arms and Armoury.
144. Kila Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1889.
145. Silehkhana Bhai Jaisalmer V. S. 1900.
146. Cf. RKS Thesis, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Artillery.
147. Topkhana Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1888.
148. Cf. RKS Thesis, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Artillery.
149. Topkhana Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1902.
150. Cf. RKS Thesis, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Artillery.
151. A study of the fort Guns mounted on the fort walls of Jaisalmer was conducted by me in December 24 to Dec. 31, 1982. The study was sponsored and financed by the Kurukshetra University, Kurukeshetra, Haryana, for which I am grateful to the authority of Kurukshetra University, for out come of the study see, Ravindra Kumar Sharma, Guns Inscriptions of the Rajputs, The Journal of the Rajasthan Institute, Historical Research December 1984-85.
152. Ravindra Kumar Sharma, Rajputi Topkhane Ka-Vikas 1400-1947 A.D., Ritandhra, Vol. XXXI, 1983, pp. 14-25.
153. Ravindra Kumar Sharma, Rajput Guns and their Persian inscriptions, paper presented in the seventh All India Epigraphical Society, Calcutta, from Dec. 18-20, 1981.
154. See text of the Gun Inscription, the Language of the Inscription is Rajasthani and was brought into light by me.
"A Top.....
Shree Raj Raje Surama Maharaja,
Dhiraj Maharaj Shiraman Maharaja
Shree Gaj Singh ji Re Hukam Sun
Top Nagar Navin Rum Ten Padhar
Dirad Gange Karai Nohal Karigar
Na Gor Ra Loharaj.....
Top Ro Nanva Ganesh Ban
Samvat 1810 Miti....."
155. See Text of the cannon inscription displayed on the fortress of Jaisalmer and was first time utilized by me.
"Top Sindhi.....
Munvo Khan Ri Vanai Jaisl (mer)
Men Sindh Ra Karigar Ro
Manva Munvo Khan (Munawar Khan).....
156. Tawarikh Tawari p. 49; Mahakma Topkhana Jaisalmer V. S. 1899.
157 Mahakma Topkhana Jaisalmer V. S. 1900.
158. Modikhana Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1893.
159. Zeenkhana Jaisalmer V. S. 1888.
160. Jagdish Singh Gahlot, Vol. I., *op. cit.*, pp. 681-86.
161. A. C. Banerjee, Lectures on Rajput History, p. 145.
162. Cf. Ravindra Kumar Sharma, Military System of the Rajput States—A case study of Rajasthan, Indian Indology, Bihar Puratatva Evam Sanskrti Prishad, Gaya, 1982, Vol. II., pp. 152-160.
163. Col. Tod, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1251.
164. *Ibid.*

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165. Cf. Ravindra Kumar Sharma, Rajput Sena Men Anaya Tatva, The Journal of Rajasthan Sahitya Samiti, Bissau Vol. 1974/XXVII, pp. 30-32.
166. Cf. Ravindra Kumar Sharma, Military System of the Rajput States during "Grand Anarchy", International Journal of History, Vol. XVII, No. III, 1980, pp. 77-88.
167. Nancy-Ki-Khyat Vol. II, pp. 278-79.
168. Tawarikh Tawari, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-83.
169. J. W. Mccrindle, Invasion of India, p. 119.; K. C. Jain, Ancient cities and towns of Rajasthan, pp. 18-33.
170. Cf. Tawarikh Tawari op. cit., pp. 66-7; Nancy-Ki-Khyat op. cit., Vol II, pp. 350-51; Jaisalmer-Ki-Khyat pp. 76-77; Nancy, Marwar-Pargana-Ri-Vigat, Vol. II, pp. 298-305.
171. Cf. RKS Thesis, op. cit., Chapter on The Military Depot, Roads and Transport.
172. *Ibid.*
173. Compare, Morwana Inscription, V. S. 1573; Nancy-Ki-Khyat, Vol. II, p. 500; Kagdo-Ri-Bahi, Bikaner V. S. 1811, 1839; Sanad-Parwana-Bahi-Marwar V. S. 1824; Imperial Gazetteers, Rajputana Agency, pp. 201, 203, 204; Tod, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 226; Vir Vinod, Vol. II, p. 1756; Ram Karan Asopa, History of Rathors, p. 290.
174. Kagdo-Ri-Bahi-Bikaner, Baisakh Badi 2 V. S. 1839, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
175. Bahi Bhatner, Bikaner, V. S. 1752; Sanad Parwana Bahi Marwar, V. S. 1840, F. 65 Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner.
176 Tawarikh Tawari, p. 49.
177. RKS Thesis, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Roads and Transport.
178. *Ibid.*
179. Tawarikh Tawari, pp. 71-74.
180. Sh. Vidya dhar Shastri, Article on Unat, Lekh Sangarah, pp. 18-21.
181. Cf. RKS Thesis, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the camel corps.
182. Tawarikh Tawari, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
183. Kila Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1900.
184. *Ibid.*
185. RKS Thesis, *op. cit.*, Chapter on Kettledrums.
186. "Dhol Nagara Bazaya Kasizan Lagya Ban....." Cf. Narottam Das Swami, Rajasthani Duha, p. 38.
187. See, Ummed Museum Jodhpur and Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum, Bikaners Nagara Collections.
188. Tawarikh Tawari, p. 89.
189. Kathana Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1868.
190. Cf. RKS Thesis, Chapter on Banners.
191. Cf. *Ibid.*, Chapter on Units and Gradiation.
192. *Ibid.*, pp. 468-89.
193. Tawarikh Jaisalmer, p. 109.
194. RKS Thesis, Chapter on the Jagirdars and Jagiri Fauj.
195. Tawarikh Tawari, pp. 133-39.
196. *Ibid.*

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197. Compare, Tod, *op. cit.*, pp. 524; Tawarikh Jaisalmer, pp. 88-94.
198. RKS Thesis, *op. cit.*, pp. 503-508.
199. A. C. Banerjee, Lecture on Rajput history, p. 111; Sukumar Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
200. Tod, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 531-38.
201. RKS Thesis, Chapter on the Mercenaries.
202. *Ibid.*
203. Fauj Bahi Jaisalmer V. S. 1901.
204. Foreign Political Secret Consultations No. 2, 474 (p) 1944 A.D. National Archives of India, New Delhi; Representation, p. 26, section 78, p. 54; Imperial Gazetteer of India, Jaisalmer p. 53; Kharita of Lord Chamesford addressed to the ruler of Jaisalmer dated June 30, 1919 vide Representation, p. 26, Appendix 9, p. 54.
205. Cf. RKS Thesis, *op. cit.*, Chapter on the Medals, Laurels Khilats, Poshak, Karita, Sanad and Prizes etc.

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HINDU SOCIETY IN MUGHAL INDIA

(as reflected in the contemporary Hindi and English sources)

S. P. Sangar

Hindu Family Life

According to the contemporary Hindi sources, all the words in common use for the various members in the Hindu family in the seventeenth century, had the same terminology as today. Paternal grandfather was *Dādā* and *Pitāmaha*[1] and the maternal grandfather was *Nānā* or *Nānan*[2]. Maternal uncle was *Māmā*[3]. *Nāni* and *Māmi* were female terms. The terms for mother were : *Janani*[4], *Mehtāri*[5]; *Mān*[6]; *Māi*[7]; *Mātā*[8]; *Māta*[9]; *Mātu*[10]; *Māya*[11]; *Mayyā*[12]. For father the various terms were : *Pitā*[13]; *Pitu*[14]; *Bāp*[15]; *Tāt*[16]; and *Gusāi*[17]. Brother was addressed by various names of *Bhāi*[18]; *Bandhu*[19]; *Bhaiyyā*[20]; *Bhrātā*[21]; *Bharatā*[22]; *Bīr*[23]; *Sahodar*[24]; *Agaraja*[25] and *Dādā*[26]. Brother's wife was *Bhābi*[27]. The various terms for the sister were : *Bahin*[28]; *Bhagini*[29] *Bhaini*[30]; *Sakhi*[31]; *Susā*[32]; *Anujā*[33] (younger sister). Sister's husband was *Bahnoi*; *Bhagini Bharatā*[34]. Sister's daughter was *Bhānaji* or *Bhanaiji*[35].

Kanta[36]; *Pati*[37]; *Piyā*[38]; *Prānapati*[39]; *Pritam*[40]; *Grihapati*[41]; and *Khasam*[42] were the different terms used for the husband.

For a wife there were many terms in use : *Banitā*[43]; *Bām*[44]; *Bhāmini*[45]; *Sajani*[46]; *Swāmini*[47]; *Triya*[48]; *Gharani*[49]; *Tiyā*[50]; *Tiya*[51]; *Triyā*[52]; *Dārā*[53]; *Patni*[54]; and *Ardhāngi*.[55]

Daughter was addressd by various names as *Kunwari*[56]; *Tanayā*[57]; *Nandni*[58]; *Nandini*[59]; *Bitiyā*[60]; *Beti*[61]; *Lali*[62]; *Sutā*[63]; *Jāmātani*[64]; and *Duhitā*[64a].

Devar was hnsband's younger brother[65].

Nanad[66] was husband's sister and her husband was *Nanadi*[67].

A son was addressed by various names as *Kunwar*[68]; *Chhora*[69]; *Chhohra*[70]; *Dimbh*[71]; *Dhotā*[72]; *Tanayā*[73]; *Nandan*[74]; *Putra*[75]; *Pūta*[76];

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Bālak[77]; *Betā*[78]; *Larikā*[79]; *Lāl*[80]; *Lalā*[81]: *Lalan*[82] and *Sut*[83]. His wife was *Bahuriya*[84] and *Vadhu*[85].

Mother-in-law, as today, was termed as *Sās*[86] and *Sāsu*[87] and father-in-law as *Sasur*[88]. Mati Ram wrote lovely verses about in-laws and their houses[89]. Housewives were generally afraid of the mothers and sisters of their husbands.[90]

Saut (सौत) was the co-wife or rival wife[91]. *Phuphi* was father's sister and *Kati*[92] was paternal aunt[93]. *Mātul* was mother's brother[94]. Mother's sister was termed as *Mausi*[95]. *Samadhi* was the father-in-law of son or daughter[96].

Nanihāl or *Nanasāra* was the house of mother's parents[97]. *Sasurāl*[98] was the house of husbands's or wife's parents. *Māyakā* or *Pyausāra*[99] was wife's parent's house.

Poet Tosh has mentioned in one verse Devar, Nandan and mother-in-law in an artistic manner[100].

Naihar was wife's mother's house.[101]

One was supposed to have lost his prestige by overstaying in the house of wife's parents. Such a person was known, as even today, as *Ghar-jamāi*[102]. Bride-groom was termed as *Dūlāh* and bride as *Dulhan*[102a]. A guest was known as *Atithi*, *Pahuno*[103] and *Pahuni*[104]. *Jethāni* was the wife of husband's elder brother.[105].

When a guest came to a house, they first washed his feet and then served him meals[106]. Vrinda complains that expenses increased when one had no income as guests had the tendency to inflict themselves on a house when there was not much profit in business[107]. Believing in the maxim that familiarity breeds contempt, poet Rahīm advises people to keep away from relations as far as possible[108].

According to Indian tradition, a son and other young people are supposed to show respect to their parents and elderly people. It was regarded as a great civility to rub their feet when they were taking their rest[109]. Tulsi Dass regarded a son very fortunate if he showed proper reverence to his parents[110]. A daughter-in-law always showed respect to her mother-in-law by touching her feet[111]. In Hindu tradition the example of Shravan Kumar is always quoted as that of an ideal son and Mr. A. G. Shroff refers to this in his translation of *Padmāvati*.[112]

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Veneration shown by the Indians to their parents earned a "most high commendation" from the English traveller of the second decade of the seventeenth century, Edward Terry. He says that they manifested "great exemplary care" in "their piety to their Parents", even though in majority of cases they did not have an income of five shillings a moon. Yet if 'their parents be in want, they will impart at the least half of their little towards their necessaries, choosing rather to want themselves, then that their parents should suffer need".[113]

Yet poets like Puhakara felt that the sad fact was that the parents were disregarded by the young people when after their marriage they left the household just for the sake of their wives[114].

The contemporary poets have also referred to the relations between the servants and masters. Male servants were called *Dāsa*[115] *Bhritya*[116] and *Sewak*[117]. Female servants were known as *Dāsi*[118] and *Laundi*[119]. Tulsi Das advises the servants to serve their masters with natural affection and selflessness. A good servant in his eyes was he who gave up deceit and all the four fruits of actions mentioned in the scriptures, *dharma, artha, kāma and moksha*, righteousness, prosperity, desire and liberation. Of all sorts of service, that of the master was the best. A servant must serve his master in perfect faith.[121] An arrogant servant deserved condemnation.[122] Tulsi advocates respect for parents, *Guru* and master whose orders must be carried out dutifully[123]. He advocates mutual relationship between father and son. The latter was dependent on the former who provided him protection. The same was true of master and servant[124].

Hindu Society : General Characteristics

The English traveller, Ralph Fitch (1583-1591), found the Hindus at Prayāga with their faces shaven "for the most part ...and their heads very long, except some which be all shaven save the crown". Among them some were as though a man should set a dish on their heads and shave them round, all but the crown"[125].

Much later, the Dutch De Laet observed that majority of the Hindus shaved off their beards but left a moustache. The priests among them shaved off the whole head excepting a tuft round the crown. They took bath frequently and anointed themselves with costly ointments or oils[126].

The English factors serving in the East India Company remarked (1614 A.D.) that the Hindus had special preference for red, green, yellow and other light colours[127].

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Edward Terry remarked that the Hindus or "Heathens", "the ancient inhabitants of East India", were a very industrious people, very diligent in all the works of their particular callings, believing that Bread sweetest, and most savory (is that) which is gained by sweat". This applied in particular to the tillers of soil, manufacturers of varieties of articles and manual workers. He pays the Hindus in general a high tribute when he refers to them as people who were not "afraid of a lion in the way, of a Lion in the street, as the slothful man is". They laid hold of the "present time, the opportunity, to set upon their business, which they are to do today, they being very laborious to their several imployments, and very square and exact and make good all their engagements". Terry found the Hindus very just to those with whom they had business dealings.[128].

Herbert Moll who visited India in the middle of the 17th century found the Hindus polite, ingenious, peaceable, humble and inoffensive in their behaviour They were extremely tender and compassionate, even to the animals and insects. They were not very remarkable for physical courage with the exception of the Rājpūts who made profession of arms. Yet he opines that the Hindus had as much courage as thier despisers, "for few people preserve a more equal temper at the approach of death, though they would not many of them deprive an animal of life for the world". A considerable body among the Hindus were against the infliction of any corporal punishment on offenders and did not approve of the idea of putting any animal or human being to death.

Moll appreciated the remarkable ingenuity of the Hindus. They could imitate at first sight any pattern brought to them, whether it was a suit of clothes, a head dress, or any other sort of dress. The imitation used to be too perfect to be distinguished. They could copy a well-drawn picture so exactly that it was difficult to be known from the original. Ordinary pepole in India could print calicoes in lively shades and colours to the surprise of Europeans for whom these beauties were inimitable. They did all this marvellous work for an extremely small payment, three pence a day. There were Indian ship-builders who could imitate the English ships in an exact manner as if they had been living at Catham or Portsmouth. Paying the Hindus a handsome

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tribute this Englishman, remarked ; "It is observable that the Banians cast up their accounts as exactly, and with more expedition, by their heads, than our accountants can with a pen and ink; their common people do not excel in these respects; but seem to have a better notion of God and religion than many of our rusticks, and all the world must acknowledge we fall very short of them in our morals[129]."

Herbert Moll endorses the observations of some of his contemporaries when he describes the Indians of the 17th century of "good stature, well shaped" and of "agreeable features". There were in general no crooked or deformed persons among them. Indian women had sprightly motions, soft charming aspects, amorous glances and irrestible mien. They easily gained the "admiration of all foreigners and frequently captivate the wisest". Moll quotes a reverend author of his nation who remarked that the Indian women had such "rhetorical look, so taking an air, that it is not safe to trust one's self amongst them, and all this under the disadvantage of a dark complexion". The Indians of the northern part of the country had a deep tawny or olive colour and those in the south were as black as jet. Those living in the mountains of the middle of the peninsula were all coal black to a man. The Indians of the coast who mixed with the Portugese and other Europeans were tawny. Whatever the complexion of the people in general, they had long black hair and black eyes[130]. Moll holds testimony to the fact that although Surat was a populous town inhabitated by people of various nations, hardly any tumult or disorder happened there. Capital offences, such as murder and robbery, were scarce ever heard of in great many years. This, according to him, could in some measure be ascribed to the quiet disposition of the Hindus who seldom gave any "affront and as seldom resent an injury[131]".

Foreign visitors to India were sometimes keen observers and accurate recorders of events and occurrences in India. Streynsham Master, the Chief of the East India Company in the Bay, noted such an event in his diary. He came across in Qāsimbāzār in Bengāl on November 12, 1679, a Bengālī, Dewaldās, seven feet and one inch in height. He had come to the English factory from his village situated eight miles from Qāsimbāzār. He was forty and of "Ginguntickе" (gigantic) stature. All his bones and limbs were proportionate, his voice "big" and his gait was straight[132].

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Yet another Englishman, Ovington, had an opportunity of observing the Hindu way of life at Sūrat in 1689. Like so many other observers of Indian life, Ovington found the Hindus very particular about washing their body. Prior to the start of their work in the morning, they took their bath in the Tāpti, which "runs the wall of Surat", in their own houses. During that process they could never bear the idea of any body touching their naked bodies "till they had finished their Lustrations". They had even their children "washt" all over both morning and evening. When they went in the morning "called upon by the necessities of Nature", they always carried in their hands a small jar of water to "wash themselves clean of" and "this office they always performed only with the left hand".

They never drank from the same cup that had been used by the Christian or by a person of any other sect but their own; nor did they "defile" their lips with the same water that was touched by a stranger. For this reason they reserved water pots for themselves and carried "*kausars*" or earthen jars with them whenever they performed a journey. They drank water out of these jugs and poured it in their mouth from a distance, "according to the Thracian manner of taking full draught without waking, without either shutting the mouth, or fetching breath[133].

The Italian traveller Careri endorses the views of other contemporary writers about the general nature, shape and size and colour of the Indians who hated white colour, it being of lepers. In their discourse they were modest and civil "not using so many actions with their hands nor talking so loud as the Europeans do",[134] concludes he.

Writing in the middle of the 18th century, Grose remarked that in general the Hindus were tenacious of their religion and customs. Their manner of living hardly underwent any variation from the earliest ages. They lived strictly in accordance with the prescribed rules of religion and their tenor of life was the "same in every point as that of his ancestors and contemporaries". Their description by the former travellers, says he, was "precisely comformable to what may be seen at this day".[135]

THE BRĀHAMAṆS

Linschoten had a good opinion of the Brāhmaṇas whom he describes to be the most honest and esteemed among all the castes of India. They used to serve in important places with the ruling monarch in various capacities. They were also priests and ministers in their temples. They

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wore sacred thread on their body and usually went about with little clothing or dress. They occasionally put on when they went out a thin cotton or linen gown called *qaba*. On their head they wore long hair which was covered with a small turban. Like majority of Indians they put ear-rings of gold in their ears. The Brāhmaṇs abstained from animal food and were strict vegetarians. Linschoten remarks that in Goa and on the sea coast many Brāhmaṇs had turned merchants or doctors. They were experts in keeping accounts and in writing. The Brāhmaṇas observed certain fasts and during that period abstained from any food. Sometimes they fasted for three or four days.[137]

BANIAS

The most numerous class referred to by the foreign travellers during this period was that of the merchants to whom they gave the term Banian. The Portugese traveller Linschoten mixes the Banias and the Gujarātīs together and says that they hailed from the country of Cambay and, because of their business, many of them lived in Goa, Dieu, Chaul, Cochin and in other places in India. They dealt in grain and cloth and also in precious stones. In accounting and writing they had definitely surpassed the Jews, Portugese, and even nationals of other countries. They were great experts in handling merchandise.[138]

Linschoten found the Banias like Brāhmaṇas, of yellowish or even whiter colour. Their women were of whiter and cleaner complexion than even the Portugese ladies. He says that the Bania women of Cambay were formed in face and limbs like the Europeans with the exception of colour. Men wore a thin white gown upon their bodies, from hand to foot, made fast on one side under their arms. They kept moustaches on their faces, but shaved off their beard like the Turks. They kept their head covered with a cloth wrapped three or four times (turban). On their foreheads they had star (meaning thereby *tilak*). It was sandalwood paste mixed with a little rice rubbed on the head as done by the Brāhmaṇas. They anointed their bodies also, as common among the Indians, with sandalwood paste and other fragrant ointments. They kept their feet covered with shoes of red leather, sharp at the toes and turning up like hooks. In their houses they left their shoes outside and went about with bare feet so that the heels of the shoes were never pulled up in order to save the labour of untying or undoing them. In their houses they always sat on mats or carpets.[139]

Herbert Moll records that the Banias of Sūrat and of other parts of

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India were of "mild insinuating nature" and never contended with others and selom fell out among themselves. In case they observed the Europeans they dealt with in passion, they immediately withdrew and returned only after the tempers had cooled down and then talked in softest possible manner. However obliging in other aspects, they were extremely careful of their money. "A man worth thousand pounds will traverse the whole town to get the value of half a penny".[140]

Writing about the Sūrat merchants in the days of Aurangzeb, the English writer Fryer observes :

"There is another thing above all the rest an unpardonable offence; for a Banyan or a rich broker to grow wealthy without protection of some great person; for it is so mighty a Disquiet to the Governor, that he can never be at ease till he have seen the bottom of this Mischief; which is always cured by Transfusion of treasure out of the Banyan into the Governor's Coffers; which makes them humble Suitors for the umbrage of any of quality; to skreen them from this violence'.'[141]

About the affluence and richness of the Banias, Fryer remarks that one seemingly not worth a 'Gosbeek (the lowest coin they have)' would pull out of his 'puckery' (*pagri* : turban) some thousand pounds worth of diamonds for sale. The trade of the jewellers was no small addition to the wealth of Sūrat at that time.[142]

Ovington wrote that the Indian Banias had their wealth in cash and jewels lest it should fall into the hands of the government. This fear made them carry on their commercial activities in secret and so also the receipt and payment of money. "Sumptuousness and state suit not very well with the life and conditions of a Banian; they must not long flourish together". The Indian brokers dealing with the East India Company, according to Ovington, were rich persons, each owning from fifteen to thirty lac of rupees. Yet their annual expenses did not exceed three or four thousand rupees. They exercised utmost economy in meals and household expenses.[143]

Even in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Banias in Cambay were most numerous and worked as merchants, bankers, brokers, as pen-men, accountants and collectors and surveyors. None of them, however, were craftsmen. The Banias, according to a popular notion, had eighty-five different sects among them and did not interdine among themselves. Hamilton was confusing the Banias with the entire class of the Hindus. He remarks : "The greatest Part of the eastern

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Religion is in Forms of Worship, and abstaining from certain Meats".[144]

Much has already been written about Aurangzeb's policy towards the Hindus, demolition of their places of worship and his proselytising activities. Below are some extracts in original from the records of the East India Company throwing light on his treatment of the majority community in India at that time. Besides, there are the observations of other contemporary travellers about the same. This evidence will help the intelligent reader to form some idea of the condition of the Hindus in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

A letter from the Sūrat factors to their masters in London in 1667 reads :

". . . . . .This king hath lately commanded that five percent be taken from all the Banian merchants throughout his dominions and that to be paid up in the country where the goods are bought, from whence they are to bring to this custome house a certificate, which often times the officers here will not owne, but require them to pay their customes againe, or their goods will not be permitted to be shipt off. Besides they all pay great dutyes upon the way at very many places as they come along, and other exactions, that makes the goods swell in price considerably; whereas wee are, by a grant from the king, exempted from all way duties, and pay but three per cent, at the shipping of goods . . . .".[145]

Below are the extracts from a letter written by President Oxenden and his colleagues from Sūrat in January 1668 to the London Company :

"This Kings every daies more precizenes in his Mahometan religion hath greatly disturbed the whole kingdome; there now lying a heavy persecution, upon the Banians and Gentues (Hindus) more especially, and generraly upon all that are not his eronious opinion, that it hath greatly obstructed their dealing one with another. For if a Mohemetan have a desire to discharge his debt to a Banian, its but telling him that, if ever he make demaund or trouble him for his money, he will complain to the Cozay or Justice of the Law, that he hath called their Prophet names or spoke contemptuously of their religion, and produce a false witnesse or twoe of which the towne is full), and the poore man is forced to circumcission and made a Moore. And thus they have served severall, to the great terrour of all. Nay, they are become

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so insolent, from the countenance received from the king, that beggars (of which the country swarmes) doe daily enter into Banian howses, using great immodesties, and will not be perswaded out untill they have given them whatever they ask; this king not all minding any thing of his kingdome, but give himself wholly upon the converting, or rathar perverting the Banians etc. and pulling downe the places of their idolatrous worship, erecting muskoots (masjids : mosques) in their roome. Lastly, in prosecuting his blind zeale, (he) fell upon one Thomas Roach, an Englishman, imprizoned and greviously afflicted him, threatened to take away his life if he would not turne; and when that would not doe, the King tempted him with monies, vests, and honors. But he withstood them all. . . . . ."[146]

A letter of that period from Aleppo says : "The King of India's extraordinary zeale to promote his own superstition and gaine proselytes is very troublesome to the poore Banians and Hendue, whome to trappen into inconveniences his wicked emissaryes are imployed, and afterwards they are forced to turne Mahometans; which diligence and fervency of the King's his reverend mollas perswade him to believe will isolate him in a great equality to the Prophet Mahomet in another world; but while he is thus humouring his foolish churchmen, he disobligeth his nobles and souldiers who are not so zealously bent; and its believed he will not reigne long without some disturbance from them".[147]

William Hedges who was in India towards the end of the 17th century, has left a detailed account of his observations in his interesting diary. He terms the ruling monarch Aurangzeb as a "Mahometan . . . . . with a great precision in his Religion . . . that he hath taken off all customes from the Mahometans and imposed 5 P. cent more on the HINDOOES then they formerly paid, besides he hath some Persecution against the HINDOOES etc. since his coming to the Crowne, and so soe much to punish them for the Profession of their own Religion as to trap and ensnare and even force them to turne MOORS, (that is to be circumcised), and then they may be what they will againe, for many of the HINDOOES retain many of their Idolatrous Customes) as is the practice of the Mahometans in most Countries, contrary to all Human Reason, and I think to the Economy of all Religions in the World. It seems that some yeares if not ages since, I suppose about the time of the MOORES first Conquests, they were severe against the Idolatory of the HINDOOES, and sett a Poll Tax upon all the Family of INDIANS, which, as I said made many of them turne MOORES, nor was any

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Pagod or Idolatrous Temple of the HINDOOES suffered to stand except the HINDOOES at their owne charge made a place for Prayer for the Mahometans adjoyning to the very walls of it, and if they did soe, then they might build new Pagods, but since those times, the HINDOOES were not at all molested in the exercise of their Religion, espacially in Jahangir and Shahjahan's reign, but were in ffavour and Preferred to the great and Meane officers of the Kingdome—so well as the MOORES; but this MOGUL (Aurangzeb) who attained the Crowne by Hypocricy and pretence of a great zealot hath proceeded otherwise with them, soe that Most of the Pagods are Demolished by the Tumultous ways of Rabble zelots, by his Countanance, not by his Direction and Command".[148]

Ovington records that during Aurangzeb's reign, Muslims got "precedence to all the rest, because of their religion". For this very reason they were appointed to "eminent stations of Honour and Trust". As a rule, writes he, only the Muslims were appointed as provincial governors, military commanders or civilian officers; very few Hindus were given posts of trust. They were thus left to follow their own professions as artisans and merchants. They were "little esteemed by the Emperor and contemned by the Moors, and often treated with inhumanity and neglect", simply on grounds of religion. Despite this discriminatory treatment by the Muslim kings, Ovington found the Hindus winning over the Muslims by their peace-loving nature and taking off "much of that scornful Antipathy which they harbour against them".[149]

Much later Hamilton also endorsed the views of other contemporary writers about the discriminatory treatment of the Hindus by the Mughal government. He says that while the Muslims paid only 2% customs on their goods and the Christians 3%, the Hindus were required to pay as much as 5% besides the poll tax imposed on them.[150] The weaker people could however always avoid the payment of these taxes by abjuring their own religion as was done by the non-Muslim peoples inhabiting the countries ruled by the Sasānid and Greek kings in the early history of Islām.

The above account may be true of the latter part of the 17th century under Aurangzeb; but not of the earlier Mughal period. Right from the beginning of the reign of Akbar the spirit of toleration, deep-rooted in the Indian tradition since the beginning of our history,

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was quite strong for about 100 years. During this period the country also enjoyed full religious freedom. "All sorts of religion are welcome and free, for the king is of none", wrote Sir Thomas Roe from Ajmer to Prince Charles on October 30, 1616.[151] A few years later Pietro della Valle wrote that there was perfect "Liberty of Conscience" in the country. A person could "hold or change what Faith he pleases, not the least trouble having been given to any person touching Religion in the Deminions of the Mughals".[152] In Cambay he saw both Hindus and Muslims worshipping a tomb.[153]

The learned among the Hindus told the French traveller Bernier that every person "may be saved in his religion provided he exactly followed the way which God set before him, and that he will be damned if he take another course".[154] Bernier told once some Hindus that their custom of taking bath three times a day could not be practicable in cold countries. Their reply was typical and correct : "We pretend not that our law is of universal application". They assured him that the Hindus never regarded any religion as false. It might be adapted to their wants and circumstances as God, no doubt, had "appointed many different ways of going to heaven". Poor Bernier was disconcerted to find the Hindus adamant not to believe his thesis that the "Christian faith was designed for the whole earth, and theirs was mere fable and gross fabrication".[155]

Whatever the policy of Aurangzeb towards the Hindus, the latter never exhibited a spirit of intolerance towards other religions, as observed by William Hedges. The Hindus never interfered in the religious practices of the Chritians in India, although such a thing was next to impossible in European countries, remarks he. The Indian spirit of perfect religious toleration was in complete contrast to the Christian spirit of religious intoleration in Europe in the 17th century. Hedges remarks that India was inhabited by so many "Severall Nations of People", all exercising their own way of worship, and it never appeared strange to the Hindus to hear of a people of a different religion from their own. They told him that "God Almighty hath constituted many People and Nations in the World to be of diverse Religions and to serve Him Several ways[156]."

THE PORTRAYAL OF THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY BY TULSI DAS

Tulsi Dās, the celebrated author of *Rāma-Charit-Mānas*, the greatest

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work of literary art of medieval times, has inadvertently referred to the condition of the contemporary society of the 16th and 17th centuries. In the last portion of his monumental work and in two of his other famous books, *Kavitāvali* and *Vinayapatrikā*, he briefly refers to life of the people as observed by him. His casual references in his masterpieces are of utmost significance for the student of the contemporary social history. Being a confirmed traditionalist, he did not relish the radical changes that were evident in his day as a result of various factors whose nature perhaps he was at a loss to understand. Consequently, he ascribed these changes to the prevalence of *Kali* Age. His observations lead us to one important inference that by the 16th century the ancient caste system had suffered erosion and the compulsion of circumtances had introduced a radical and fundamental change in people's attitude towards that ancient mighty structure. Similarly, the old educational system seems to have undergone significant transformation. For Tulsi it signified degradation from the old high values and standards of life. The fall in moral standards distressed him. For all this he lays the entire blame at the doors of the *Kali* Age and makes it responsible for the changes which to him looked undesirable.

Following is the brief description of the contemporary social life as given by Tulsi Dās.

In the *Kali* Age the three terrible afflictions, physical, mental and spiritual, that had taken a firm grip, were poverty, sin and distress. Every one felt uneasy and unhappy, wretched and miserable.

In the Uttarkānda of *Rām-Charit-Mānas*, Tulsi depicts a dismal picture of the contemporary society. The changes for the worse in the society were, in his view, due to the prevalence of the *Kali* Age, the characteristic features of which were increase of *Tamas* and decrease of *Rajas*. These two elements, along with *Sattva*, are the three *Gunas* or constituents of *Prakriti* as expounded in the *Sānkhya* philosophy. *Sattva* stands for purity and goodness, *Rajas* for energy while *Tamas* signifies inertia and indolence, conflict and discord, enmity and hostility.

He complains that the misdeeds of the *Kali* Age had swallowed the good *karmas* and *dharmas*. People in their arrogance had discarded the sacred books. They had given up the prescribed and chartered their own paths as determined by their selfish inclinations. In that age it was not the genuine persons who had taken to learning, but only the bogus people who always took delight in boasting of their arrogance.

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The proud persons who had started their new religions or *dharmas* were honoured as saints. The people in general had become degraded and depraved, wicked and hypocrites. Every body seemed disdainful of social welfare and followed the inclinations of his wicked heart.

Tranquillity and equanimity, truthfulness and righteouness, were on the decline. Licentiousness and villainy, duplicity and depravity, were on the increase. The wicked prospered, the virtuous suffered. Selfishness had replaced selflessness. All the means of achieving results had become ineffective and any attainment in spiritual life had become impossible. Even the earth had lost its productivity. Terrible were the effects of the *Kali* Age in which the wise were only those who could successfully swallow the wealth of others. Those indulging in buffoonery were regarded as men of real worth. Persons lacking in character and going astray from the path indicated in the scriptures were known as men of knowledge and renunciation.

Tulsi was grieved to see the miserable fall in the contemporary moral standards. Men and women of the day had abjured the established traditions. Men of high families carried on affairs with other women and even with their maid-servants after having turned their chaste wives out of their houses. The young people no longer felt any deep-rooted affection for their parents whom they respected only till they got married; after which only their in-laws became the centre of their feelings and affections. The times were so terrible, bemoans the saint-poet, that even the most sacred relations between father and daughter and brother and sister had ceased to be honoured !

Viewing other women had rendered the eyes unclean. Attachment to sex-objects had debased the mind. Lust for self-gratification, arrogance and intoxication, had contominated the heart. Calumny and slander had poisoned the ears. Malicious and slanderous talk against others had made the tongue impure.[158]

According to Tulsi, deceit and fraud, arrogance and obstinacy, pride and selfish desire, attachment and delusion, were the characteristic features of the *Kali* Age. Avarice and jealousy were rife. Softness of speech had become a thing of the past. Friendly feelings towards one another had gone into oblivion. Suffering from the pangs of separation, people felt distressed and woe-begone.

There was no longer the cultivation of self-control among the people

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nor any display of sympathy and kindness. Charity had become un-heard-of; wisdom had taken to winds. Ignorance and guile had taken deep roots. Instead of cultivating higher values of life, men and women spent their major time in the upkeep of their body. None cared for earning religious merit and acquiring spiritual knowledge. Tulsi refers to people in the contemporary society whose words and deeds were dissimilar or whose word varied from action. There was marked difference in appearance and reality.[159] He concludes by saying that his age was a treasure-house of sinfulness and wickedness. It lacked *dharma, jnāna* and also the practice of real *yoga*.[160]

Tulsi complains that true religion had departed, people worshipped a number of smaller gods and went to the burning *ghāt* to do penance sitting on a dead body. They ran after the rulers and begged from them. They would go to Kurukshetra to indulge in charity there with the sole motive of expecting its reward in the next world [161] Deceivers as they were, they posed as devotees of Rāma. But how could a person devoid of self-control and a victim of anger and greed, desire and lust, hope to succeed in the path of *bhakti*? They were not genuine people in any sense of the term. And, out of pure modesty, Tulsi says that he is one of them.[162]

In the *Vinaya-Patrikā* the poet curses the *Kali* Age in which the people in general had lost their ground. Crafty and cunning, cowardly and roguish, wicked and vicious persons were showered with praise and regarded greater than gods themselves. In another place in the same work he writes that to be born in the *Kali* Age in Bhārat was not creditable at all as one was surrounded by low sorts of people filled with ignorance and arrogance. How could one, asks he, attain peace, salvation or liberation under such hard conditions ?[163]

Dominance of woman at home front was, in Tulsi's eye, another distressing feature of the *Kali* Age. Men had become completely henpecked. Women ran after other men, leaving their husbands, exhibiting complete infidelity. May be that this was true only in some cases, but to the saint-poet it was revolting. Contrary to the established custom, it was not the married women who adorned their bodies with jewels and ornaments, but the widows. Just men and women earned Tulsi's opprobrium. Like the females in ancient and modern times, women in medieval India too believed in taking due care of their physical beauty and paid proper attention to their hair-style. Tulsi failed to accord approval

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to these very natural tendencies of womanhood. He lashes out at them for wasting their time on what seemed to him unnecessary items. His spirit revolted against their excessive eating habits as well. He felt unhappy particularly to see their utter poverty and misery and their negligence of religion and *dharma*. He deplored their illiteracy, lack of intelligence and elegance and softness which to him seemed very natural qualities of womanhood.[164]

People's loss of faith in the traditional caste system and the abandonment of the age-old conventions as expounded and ordained in the scriptures invited Tulsi's reprobation. He complains that all the four castes had abjured their own *karmas* and abandoned the *varṇāśrama dharma*. This was undoubtedly an interesting development in the Hindu society which seems to have lost the rigidity of caste by that time. As a staunch traditionalist Tulsi failed to stomach this radical change in his society where the *Śūdras* had taken up the functions of the Brāhmaṇas and had taken to the study of the sacred Hindu scriptures. He complains that the Śūdras had become so learned that they could silence the Brāhmaṇas by their knowledge of the Vedas. They had gone far ahead of the Brāhmaṇas in the performance of *japa* and *tapa*, i.e. worship and asceticism, and in the observance of regular religious fasts. Not only that, they even gave alms and resorted to charity. As if this was not enough, even intercaste marriage had started to be practised and Tulsi refers to the *varṇasaṅkaras*, the offspring of such marriages. These statements of Tulsi are quite revealing, and if true, provide an insight into the transformation that had taken place in the contemporary Hindu social set-up. It seems probable that economic compulsions had obliged people to seek other avenues of employment and they no longer deemed it necessary to stick to the professions as ordained by their particular castes.[165]

Himself an orthodox Brāhmaṇa, Tulsi Dās, yet an outspoken poet and fearless critic, does not spare men of his own caste. In earlier ages, says he, they were regarded as the very embodiment of God and Brahma-Māyā, but by his time perfect degradation and decay had overpowered them. The Brāhmaṇas of his day were no longer distinguished by their special learning, spiritual knowledge and lofty character, but only by their wearing of the sacred thread on their body. And that has been regarded only as one of the externals of, and not the real, religion and *dharma*. Learning had been arrogated to themselves by bogus persons who were

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expert in exhibiting arrogance and boasting of their knowledge. Tulsi was mortifid to see that their former glory had forsaken the Brāhamaṇas. They were fully in the grip of the *Kali* and suffered from all the evils common to the age. Pride and arrogance, greed and lust, avarice and attachment, had become regular traits of their character. Poverty had rendered them beggars and cowards. Instead of imparting spiritual knowledge to the people, the Brāhmaṇas of Tulsi's time had started selling sacred books much to the dislike of the saint-poet. If this indicates the prosecution of book trade by some of them, it signifies yet another dent into the caste system.[166]

Kshatriyas and Rājpūts were no better than the Brāhmaṇas as they had become afflicted with all sorts of wickedness. Having caste aside their *dharma* they had been indulging in all sorts of undesirable activities, even evil deeds.[167] The merchant class was engaged in earning money by hook and by crook.

The Indian ascetics of the day could not escape the discerning eyes of the poet. The country actually abounded in them, as even noticed by the contemporary foreign travellers, and they often lived and moved in groups. As today, many among them claimed themselves to be *siddhas* (perfect or realised souls) and even *avatāras*. Yet they never evinced any keenness to acquire knowlege of the innumerable ways of God-realisation as described in the scriptures. They never cared for *japa* and *tapa*. They were in the least interested in understanding the true significance of the great Upanishadic concept of true renunciation, which for them meant only the abandonment of their apparel. For them going about naked was the only renunciation. They never paid attention or devoted time to the study of sacred books and still insisted on being taken as genuine saints and true devotees of God. By their false slogans of renunciation they had for long deceived the innocent and credulous people. They lacked character. For them *sanyāsa* signified growing nails of their fingers and hair on their head. They wore ornaments and inelegant dress, ate fish and flesh of animals and swalloed glasses of wine. It was not men of the two upper classes who had taken to *sanyāsa* but those of low castes such as oil-crushers and potters, *kol*s and *kirāts*, *chandālas* and *kalwārs*. Such people usually put on ochre robes on the death of their wives or the destruction of their property. Tulsi was up in arms against such hypocrites and did not spare even the celebrated Gorakhnāth who, by preaching the gospel of *Yoga*, had alienated people from the true path of *bhakti*, which for Tulsi was the only means of realisation of God in the *Kali* Age.

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But in whatever way Tulsi might caricature them, the *Sādhus* and *sanyāsins* of his day had turned wise and practical as their counterparts in the nuclear age today. Completely forsaking their belief in the age-old although most impractical maxim of poverty, they had become affluent and owned richly furnished houses and even mansions. Tulsi's lament is that while they had grown rich, the common folk had been rendered poorer. And that may not have been the fault of these practical-minded so called ascetics.[168]

Today there is a bias for the sort of education which can also be bread-earning. Tulsi, however, is opposed to such an instruction which seems to be universal in his day. He levels blame against parents for providing education to their children which could only bring material gain and help in filling their bellies. Tulsi favoured an integrated system of education with stress on moral edification and spiritual development. For the common run of people, however, such values are always secondary. And such was the height of hypocrisy, laments the great poet, that men and women of his day talked of nothing but *Brahm-vidyā*, the knowledge of the Highest Reality, and yet spared no opportunity of killing a Brāhmaṇa, i.e., a learned person, and a Guru.

Tulsi's complaint against the Kali Age was the sway of money motive, dominance of economic interests, over every activity of the people. He deplores that under its influence every body in the society had been directing his energy to the acquisition of money. Agriculturists and labourers, servants and merchants, postmen and post-carriers, all of them received instruction only for earning their livelihood. It was only to fill their bellies that they tried to engender certain qualities in themselves It was only with this end in view that the huntsmen endangered their lives by resorting to impenetrable forests. This was the only governing motive behind all the nefarious activities of the proclaimed thieves. It was only for the satisfaction of their hunger that people at large indulged in all sorts of righteous and evil deeds. They did not stop short even of selling their own children, if that served their selfish purpose. The fire burning in the stomach was much worse than that of the ocean, bemoans our poet.[169] But the above utterances of Tuls are nothing but a faithful expression of a universal truth prevailing in all ages in all the countries of the world.

Tulsi Dās makes no secret of his abhorence for the actions of the rulers of the day and politicians of his age. The great and petty among

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them had abandoned the path of *dharma* and no longer cared to serve the public. He felt distressed at the policies pursued by the contemporary kings. They could be easily pleased or displeased, were never steadfast in their affections nor adepts in the art of politics. Their behaviour smacked of guile, hypocricy and duplicity. They were actually in the full throes of *Kāla* (time, age), *karma* and *Māyā* (delusion). The rulers of the age, in the 16th and 17th centuries, had become heartless and oppresive, government officials had turned wicked[170].

There was yet another factor responsible for the terrible annoyance and inexplicable mortification of Tulsi Dās. Right from 1608 to 1618, Vārānasī, the abode of Śiva, suffered unspeakable agonies as a result of the pestilence that had taken the holy city of Śankara in its firm grip. Again, he blames the *Kali* Age for this disastrous happening.[171] During this long interval of ten years the citizens underwent acute suffering. The Brāhmaṇas became victims of greed and avarice, lust and wrath, and were forced to resort to beggary.[172] As a result of the prevalence of diseases and maladies, happiness had departed from the life of the people. The normal span of the life in general had been reduced only to fifty.[173]

Tulsi draws the picture of a society whose prospects had become bleak. Indigence and destitution held the contemporary society in firm grip rendering the people utterly wretched and miserable. This was due perhaps to the famine rampant at that time or to the failure of crops as a result of drought culminating in the desperation of the cultivators. When the producers of food themselves were deprived of the prectous thing, how could the poor beggars procure the same? With the failure of agriculture, business had come to a standstill, resulting in the misery of the merchant community. There seemed to be no possibility of procuring work or job. Thus remarks the poet, during the period of acute economic crisis when people became helpless in securing livelihood every one felt distressed and distraught and inquired from one another what to do and where to go.[174]

Tulsi laments that poverty and misery as a result of the recurrence of famines had a wide prevalence, anarchy was on the increase, general happiness and contentment were on the decrease. Times were horrible, indeed. It was sunshine for the notorious evil-doers and hell for the noble and good.[175] Despite their desperate condition and utter helplessness, Tulsi was surprised at the fact that people, under the false notions of prestige, strutted about like Turkey cocks, parading their deceit and conceit, ignorance and arrogance.[176]

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Our poet makes mention of yet another trait of the character of the people of his times. He found most of them suffering from the incurable malady of impatience. Every body believed in and expected prompt results. People deliberately treading a wrong path were desirous and sure of having a strong body within a day (tomorrow or next to that); next day they thought of acquiring land and wealth; they had a strong desire to defeat their enemy in the battle. They desired to fulfil their life ambitions within the shortest possible time and dreamt of becoming kiugs. Although of the size of a mosquito, they laboured under the delusion that, by their weight, even the strong and great Sumeru mountain would begin to shake. Tulsi bemoans that such a foolish way of thinking had ruined many a household in the past; many were being ruined at that particular time and a larger number were bound to perish in the future. Every body talked of tomorrow and the next day without the least realization that such an eventuality might not occur at all. "Tomorrow" of their dream might not even dawn![177]

VYĀSA AND KALIYUGA:

Another famous contemporary Hindi saint-poet Vyāsa seems to be in general agreement with Tulsi about the condition of the Indian society in the 17th century. He remarks that none seemed interested in observing the caste rules; rather every one felt happy while abandoning his real *dharma*. The Brāhmaṇas no longer cared for the pursuit of spiritual knowledge and had given up their ancestral profession of learning the scriptures. They took pleasure in serving the people of low nature and thus lacked an ideal character. Kshatriyas had completely lost their warlike spirit. The traders were interested only in accumulating wealth by all sorts of deceitful methods and fraudulent means. Women of high castes showed no respect to their husbands; rather they took pleasure in rebuking them. When no body paid attention to the attainment of spirtual knowledge, avarice become the only dominant passion of the people,[178] The sight of devotees of God begging at the doors of the affluent in a humiliating manner distressed Vyāsa.[179]

Like Tulsi he laments that real *dharma* had departed and had been replaced by wickedness. Even the *Yogins* and *Sanyāsins* had given up the sacred vows so necessary to their order. People no longer felt interested in seeking their blessings. Instead, they deemed it more profitable and rewarding to visit the houses of their in-laws. Genuine *Sādhus* were being frowned upon. Immoral, impious and wicked persons

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ungrudgingly accepted alms meant only for the ascetics. Instead of performing virtuous deeds clever persons acted as *gurus* and instructors. Mutual strifes and squabbles had become a common feature of the day. The son no longer obeyed his father; father felt no shame in selling his daughter, rather enhanced the rate continuously! The growth of wickedness and decay of virtue were, according to Vyāsa, responsible for the decrease in rainfall.[181]

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152. *The Travels of Pietro della Valle*, p. 69.
153. *Ibid.*
154. Bornier, Francois, : *Travels in the Mogal Empire*, ed. Constable and Smith 2nd Ed., S. Chand & Co., Delhi, p. 91.
155. *Ibid.*, p. 328.
156. *Diary of William Hedges*, II, p. 307.
157. *Kavitavali*, 176, p. 203.
158. *Rāma-Chrit-Mānas*

Utter Kānda, Dohā, 151, P. 1071
Ed-Shyām Sunder Das, Indian Press, Allahabad.

पूरब कल्प एक प्रभु जुग कलिजुग मलमूल ।
नर अरु नारि अ-धर्म्य-रत सकल निगम प्रतिकूल ।

कलिमल ग्रसे धर्म सब गुप्त भये सब ग्रंथ ।
धर्मन्ह निज मति कल्पि करि प्रगट किये बहु पंथ ।

Ibid., Doha, 152.

भये लोग सब मोहबस लोभ ग्रसे सुभ कर्म ।

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Doha 153, P. 1072.

बरन धरम नहिं आस्रम चारी । स्रुति-बिरोध-रत सब नरनारी ॥
द्विज स्रुतिबेचक भूप प्रजासन । कोउ नहिं मान निगम-अनुसासन ॥

—

मारग सोइ जा कहं जोइ भावा । पंडित सोइ जो गाल बजावा ।
मिथ्यारंभ दंभरत जोई । ता कहं संत कहीहं सब कोई ॥

—

सोई सयान जो पर-धन-हारि । जो करदंभ सो बड़ आचारी ॥
जो कह झूठ मसखरी जाना । कलिजुग सोई गुनबंत बखाना ॥

—

निराचार जो स्रुतिपथ त्यागी । कलिजुग सोइ ग्यानी बैरागी ॥
जा के नख अरु जटा बिसाला । सोइ तापस प्रसिद्ध कलिकाला ॥

Chaupāi—1-4, P. 1072

असुभ वेष भूषनधरे भच्छाभच्छ जे खाहिं ।
तेइ तापस तेइ सिद्ध नर पूज्य ते कलिजुग माहिं ।

Dohā, 154, P. 1072

जे अपकारी चार तिन्ह कर गौरव मान्य बहु ।
मन क्रम बचन लवार ते बकता कलिकाल महं ॥

Dohā—155, P. 1073

नारि बिबस नर सकल गोसाईं । नाचहिं नट मरकट की नाईं ।
सूद्र द्विजन्ह उपदेसाहिं ग्याना । मेलि जनेऊ लेहिं कुदाना ॥
सब नर काम-लोभ-रत क्रोधी । वेद-बिप्र-गुरु-संत-बिरोधी ।
गुन मंदिर सुंदर पति त्यागी । भजहिं नारि परपुरुष अभागी ।

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सौभागिनी विभूषन हीना। बिधवन्ह के श्रृंगार नवीना ॥
गुरूसिष बधिर अंध कर लेखा। एकन सुनहिं एक नहिं देखा॥
हरइ सिष्यधन सोक न हरई। सो गुरु घोर नरक में परई।
मातु पिता बालकन्ह बोलावहिं। उदर भरइ सोइ धर्म सिखावहिं॥

Chaupai—1-4

ब्रह्म ग्यान बिनु नारि नर कहहिं न दूसरि बात।
कौडी कारन लोभबस करहिं बिप्र-गुरु-घात॥

Dohā, 156

बादहिं सूद्र द्विजन्ह सन हम तुम्ह तें कछु घाटि।
जानइ ब्रहम सो बिप्रबर आंखि देखावहिं डाटि॥

Dohā, 157, P.1074

पर तिय लंपट कपट सयाने। मोह द्रोह ममता लपटाने॥
तेइ अभेदबादी ग्यानी नर। देखेउँ मैं चरित्र कलियुग कर॥
आप गये अरु औरनि घालहिं। जो कहुं सतमारग प्रतिपालहिं॥
कल्प कल्प भरि एक एक नरका। परहिं जे दुखहिं स्रुति करि तरका॥
जे बरनाधम तेलि कुम्हारा। स्वपच किरात कोल कलबारा॥
नारि मुई घर संपति नासी। मूंढ मुड़ाइ होहि सन्यासी॥
ते बिप्रन्ह सन पांव पुजावीहं। उभय लोक निज हाथ नसावहिं॥
बिप्र निरच्छर लोलुप कामी। निराचार सठ बृषली स्वामी॥
सूद्र करहिं जप तप ब्रतदाना। बैठि बरासन कहहिं पुराना॥
सब नर कल्पित करहिं अचारा। जाइ न बरनि अनीति अपारा॥

Chaupai—1-4

भये बरनसंकर सकल भिन्न सेतु सब लोग।
करहिं पाप दुख पावहिं भय रूज सोक बियोग।

Dohā—158, P.1075

स्रुतिसंमत हरभक्ति-पथ संजुत बिरति बिबेक।
तेहिं न चलहिं नर मोहबस कल्पहिं पथ अनेक॥

Dohā—159, P.1075

तामरछन्द :

बहु दाम संवारहिं धाम जती। विषया हरि लीन गई बिरती॥
तपसी धनवंत दरिद्र गृही। कलिकौतु तात न जात कही॥
कुलवंत निकारहिं नारि सती। गृह आनहिं चेरि निबेरि गती॥
सुत मानहिं मातु पिता तब लौं। अबला नहिं डाठ परी जब लौं॥
ससुरारि पियारि लगो जब तें। रिपुरूप कुटुंब भये तब ते।
नृप पापपरायन धर्म नहीं। करि दंड बिडंब प्रजा नितहीं॥
धनवंत कुलीन मलीन अपी। द्विजचिन्ह जनेऊ उघार तपी॥
नहिं मान पुरानन्ह बेदहिं जो। हरिसेवक संत सही कलि सो।

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कबिवंद उदार दुनी न सुनी । गुन-दूषन-ब्रात न कोपि गुनी ।।
कलि बारहिं बार दुकाल परै । बिनु अन्न दुखी सब लोग मरै ।

P. 1076

सुनु खगेस कालि कपट हठ दंभ द्वेष पाखंड ।
मान मोह मारादि मद ब्यापि रहे ब्रहमंड ।।

Dohā—160, P. 1076

तामस धर्म करहिं सब जप तप मख ब्रतदान ।
देव न वर्षहिं धरनि पर बचे न जामहिं धान ।

Dohā 161

तोटक–अबला कच भूषन भूरि छुधा । धनहीन दुखी ममता बहुधा ।।
सुख चाहहिं न मूढ न धर्मरता । मतिथोरि कठोरि न कोमलता ।।
नर पीडित रोग न भोग कहीं । अभिमान बिरोध अकारन हीं ।।
लघु जीवन संबत पंचदसा । कलपांत न नास गुमान असा ।
कलिकाल बिहाल किये मनुजा । नहिं मानत कोउ अनुजा तनुजा ।।
नहिं तोष बिचार न सीतलता । सब जाति कुजाति भये मंगता ।।

P. 1077

इरषा परुषाच्छर लोलुपता । भरि पूरि रही समता बिगता ।।
सब लोग बियाग बिसोक हये । बरनास्रम धर्म अचार गये ।।
दम दान दया नहिं जानपनीं ।जडता परबंचनताति-घनी ।।
तनुपोषक नारि नरा सगरे । परनिंदकते जग मों बगरे ।

P. 1077

कलिजुग जोग न जग्य न ग्याना ।

159. *Vinaya Patrikā*, 82, P. 153. P. 1078 Ch.3/164

160. कठिन काल मलकोस धरम न ग्यान न जाग तप

RCM. III, P. 655
Sopan—8

161. काहे को अनेक देव सेवत जागै मसान,
खोवत उपान, सठ होत हठि प्रेत रे !
काहे को उपाय कोटि करत मरत धाय,
जावत नरेस देस देस के अचेत रे !
तुलसी प्रतीति बिनु त्यागै तै प्रयाग तनु,
धन ही के हेतु दान देत कुरूखेत रे ।

Kavitavali, P. 193

162. बंचक भगत कराइ राम के । किंकर कंचन-कोह-काम के ।।
तिन में प्रथम रेख जग मोरी । धींग धरमध्वज धंधरच धोरी ।।

R.C.M.(I), 2/22, P. 18

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163. *Vinaya Patrika*, Ed. Viyogi Hari, Lok Bharati, Allahabad, 12th ed. 1977, 233, 235.

164. RCM, PP. 1073, 1074, 1076.

165. बरन-धरम गयो, आस्रम निवास तज्यो,
त्रासन चकित सो परावनो परो सो है।
करम उपासना कुबासना बिनास्यो, ज्ञान
बचन, बिराग बेष, जगत हरी सो है।
गोरख जगायो जोग, भगति भगायो लोग,
निगम नियोग ते सी केलि ही छरो सो है।
काय मन बचन सुभाय–तुलसी है जाहि,
रामनाम को भरोसो, ताहि को भरोसो है।

Kavitavali, ed. Sudhākar Pāndeya, Lokabharati Prakashan, Allāhābād, 1973, 84, P. 144

Tulsi Granthāvali, II, ed. R.C. Shukla, P. 183

बेद पुरान बिहाइ सुपंथ कुमारग कोरि कुचाल चलि है।
बने–बिभाग न आस्रम धर्म, दुनी दुख दोष दरिद्र दली है।

Ibid, 85, P. 145

Also *Vinaya Patrikā*, 4/139, P. 227.

166. RCM, 2/154, P. 1072; 4/160, P. 1075;
Kavitavali, ed. S. Pandeya, 174, P. 212.

167. काल कराल, नृपाल कृपालन राजसमाज बड़ोई छली है।

Kavitavali, 85

राज-समाज कुसाज कोटि कटु कलपित कलुष कुचाल नई है।
नीति, प्रतीति, प्रीति, परमिति पति हेतुवाद हठि हेर हई है॥

Vinaya-Patrika, 3/139, P. 227.

168. *Kavitavali*, 105, P. 157; 103, P. 156; 171, P. 210; 84, P. 144.

जागैं जोगी जंगम, जती जमाती ध्यान धरें,
डरैं डर मारी लोभ मोह कोह काम के।

Kavitavali, 109, P. 159
84, P. 144.
RCM VII, 4/154, P. 1072;
Dohā, 154, P. 1072.
RCM, VII, 3,4/154; P. 1075;
3—5/160; P. 1075;
3/158, P. 1074.

तपसी धनवंत दरिद्र गृही—RCM, P. 1075.

169. किसबी, किसान–कुल, बनिक, भिखारी, भांट,
चाकर, चपल, नर, चोर, चार, चेटकी,
पेट को पढ़त, गुन गढ़त, चढ़त गिरि,
अटत गहन बन अहन अखेटकी।

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ऊँचे नीचे करम धरम अधरम करि,
पेट ही को पचत बेचंत बेटा बेट की ।
तुलसी बुझाइ एक राम घनश्याम ही तें ।
आगि बड़वागि ते बड़ी है आगि पेट की ।

Kavitavali, 96, P. 151;
Tulsi Granthāvali Pt. II, Nagiri Pracharini Sabha, Kashi, 96, P. 185.

170. वेद धर्म ढ्वरि गये, भूमिचोर भूप भए,
साधु सीद्यमान जानि रीति पाप-पीन की ।

Kavitavali, 2/177, P. 205.

मारग मारि, महीसुर मारि, कुमारग कोटिक कै धन लीयो ।

Ibid., 1/179, P. 206.

171. संकर सहर सर, नरनारि बारिचर,
बिकल सकल महामारी मांजा भई है ।
उद्दरत उतरात हहरात मरि जात,
भमरि भगत, जलथल मीचू भई है ।
देव न दयालु, महिपाल न कृपालुचित,
बारानसी बाढ़ति अनीति नित नई है ।

Ibid. 176, P. 204;
Ibid., 182, P. 208;
Ibid., 183, P. 208;

लोक बेद हू बिदित बारानसी की बड़ाई,
बासी नरनारी ईस अंबिका-सरूप हैं ।
कालनाथ कोतवाल, दंडकारि दंडपानि,
सभासद गनप से अमित अनूप हैं ।
तहांऊँ कुचालि कलिकाल की कुरीति, कैधौं
जानत न मूढ़, रहा भूतनाथ भूप हैं ।
फलै फूलैं फैलै खल, सीदैं साधु पल पल,
खाती दीपमाला का ठठाइयत सूप है ।

Ibid. 171, P. 200.

172. दिन दिन दूनो देखि दारिद दुकाल दुख,
दुरित दुराज, सुख सुकृत सकोचु है ।
मांगे पैत पावत पचारि पातकी प्रचंड,
काल की करालता भले को होत पोचु है ।

Kavitāvali, 1, 2/81, P. 142;
Tulsi Granthāvali, II. P. 182.

173. नर पीडित रोग न भोग कहीं, अभिमान विरोध अकार नहीं ।
लघु जीवन संवत पंचदसा, कलपांत न नास गुमान असा ।।

RCM., 1/162, P. 1076 (Uttār Kanda).

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174. खेती न किसान को, भिखारी को न भीख, बलि,
बनिक को बनिज न चाकर को चाकरी।
जीविका-विहीन लोग सीद्यमान, सोच बस,
कहैं एक एकन सों 'कहां जाई, का करी'।

Ibid., 1,2/97, P. 151.

175 *Kavitavali*, Pt. 81. P. 142.
176 RCM VIII, 1/162, P. 1076.
177. 'कालि ही तरून तन, कालि ही धरनि धन,
कालि ही जितौंगे रन कहत कुचाल है।
कालि ही साधौंगे काज, कालि से ही राजा समाज,
मसक है कहै 'भार मेरे मेरू हालि है'।
तुलसी मती कुभांति घने घर घालि आई,
घरे घर घालति है, घने घर घालि है।
देखत सुनत समुझत हू त सूझै सोई,
कबहूं कहयों न 'कालू ह को काल कालि है।'

Ibid., 120, P. 166

178. Vyās—1-129;
1-172.
179. *Ibid.*, 131
180. *Ibid.*, 1-129; 1-130; 1-172.
181. *Ibid.*, 293.

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SECTION-IV

Views and Reviews

Devinder Mohan .. The Partition in Indian English Novels, by K K. Sharma and B. K. Johri (Ghaziabad : Vimal Parkashan, 1984) Pages 168.

Devinder Mohan .. The Dance of Shiva, poems by Narsingh Srivastava (New Delhi, S. Chand & Company Ltd., 1986), Pages 64, Rs. 25.

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THE PARTITION IN INDIAN ENGLISH NOVELS, by K. K. Sharma and B. K. Johri (Ghaziabad : Vimal Parkashan, 1984) Pages 168.

Devinder Mohan

THE historical event of Partition of India effective 1947, is still a deep seated rupture in the minds of those Indians (and Pakistanis, for that matter) who started their lives once again from ab-initio against the emotional and material tragedy of "life, labour and language," (Michel Foucault, phrase) : areas of communication and consciousness of cultural ethos of the Indian society. The context of this rupture encounters the ethnic destruction, a crisis of social and cultural identity and the horrors of blood-shed.

The horror of this historical event requires an aesthetic distance like the protagonist of the *The Play boy of the Western World* who becomes the object of a horrible killing of his own father, a father, who culturally becomes fictionalized for being killed. The playboy becomes 'a hero' through the distancing device in incarnating the event into fictional truth. In this context, the historical event needs an aesthetic distance for the possible artistic form, as recently Indian novelists such as Khushwant Singh, Chaman Nahal, Manohar Malgonkar and Bala chandran Rajan have demonstrated in their works.

A sharper cut through the event, and through its archaeology has gone through the novels of Raj Gill, H. S. Gill and Kartar Singh Duggal. Sharma and Johri's book seems to be an intellectual fortune hunter's attempt rather than that of creating the aesthetics of their narrative, however, episodic they might seem. An historical novel attempts a fictional form with a structure of the code system of the society. The famous examples are Thackeray's *Henry Esmond* and Manzoni's *The Betrothed*. They serve as referential models in terms of transformation of history into a dramatic form of the Novel. Their authors are concerned with an appropriate form of the aesthetic distance from the actual historical event. Its contact point sparks in their expressive consciousness.

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The experience is vicarious enough to arrest the historical material. I do not intend to show which novels succeed in locking the reader within their experience, but certainly Sharma and Johri's book fails to expose the form of the historical novel to the readers. The authors are only concerned with the themetic pressure of the historical material of the novels which reduces them back to history, doing a sort of "murderous ceremony" to the authors' ethos embodied in the works. Again what service do they give to the researchers of these authors ? What they actually do, is to cull out the information about the historical event, from the speeches of the political freedom strugglers, and all that without any referential contact with the literary criticism already done on the novels. Recently, Profulla Car has made a good attempt in discussing *A Train To Pakistan* in terms of fictional discourse in N. S., Pradhan's *Major Indian Novels* (Edited, Arnold Hienamann, 1985). He talks about the historical form, in terms of the aesthetic distance achieved by the novelist, Khushwant Singh.

In the whole book, foot-notes hardly serve any research purpose at all, in terms of future scholarship. The first good attempt in surveying the novels of historical context with insight and acumen, was done by R. P. Chaddah in his essay entitled "The Partition in *Anglo-Indian Fiction* in the *Journal of Indian Writing in English* (Vol. 5 July 1977, No. 2). It offers sufficiently discursive look at all the novels discussed by Sharma and Johri. Raj Gill, H. S. Gill and Kartar Singh Duggal make only one chapter of the book considered. Within the space of an article, discussing major novelists on the theme of the partition, R. P. Chaddah could not afford to touch on the aesthetic formulations of the narrative of each of the authors. However, the article provides a good source in awakening the scholars to the form of Indian Historical novel. In this context, Chaddah's article is enough on this line of the theme of Indian historicity, instead of a book-length study on these novelists written much after it. While it reveals nothing of the form of the novels, and how it integrates the historical material, it makes a good survey to offer points of departure for the researchers. It is astonishing that the authors of these books, (researchers !) do not give credit to Chaddah's article in their foot-notes or bibliography.

Chaddah's article is probably the first in throwing this theme on the table of the researchers to carry out the game further. The authors of this book do not carry it any further. Then what are they telling us, more or different ? The very purpose of the critical book is to take a cue from

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the point of research where others have left and what they have to say further on the same line for the future researchers, both in the areas of primary and secondary sources. Both these authors are concerned only with primary material and almost nothing with the secondary sources. The best use of the book is to refresh the reader after he is through the novels in order to gain certain referential point for research. In this context, the book is only a compendium of information. To the unattentive readers of novels, this book certainly offers some home work.

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THE DANCE OF SHIVA, poems by Narsingh Srivastava (New Delhi, S. Chand & Company Ltd. 1986) Pages 64, Rs. 25/-

Devinder Mohan

Narasinghi Sirivastava's collection of poems entitled. *The Dance of Shiva* explores an ambitious attempt to articulate Hindu idea of the religious myth in particulars of concrete experience of South Indian cultural sensorium. The protagonist of the poems avoids the usual parade of religious abstractions. With suggestive sophistry of linguistic forms of cultural experience of a common man caught in the wordly affairs, his personal pursuits and moral obligations, such as academic life, writing poetry for those it matters for personal emanicipation, as for the author, and the universal obligations towards the progeny in terms of sons and daughters to be set on their own, and the usual turns of moods in going through the alternations of these experiences, Sirivastava succeeds in portraying images of practical reality which each man confronts. The problems confronted are completely masculine, as of a head of a family, but in encountering in each of them, he builds up a flux of energy of the image of *Natraja* what it means to a South Indian Hindu mind.

The orality of mythical Natraja in Hindu consciousness enters the medium of English language to its fecund possibilities in discarding words for the residue of spiritual experience in the mind of the reader, if he is attuned to the consciousness of the author, if indeed he is open to resume to the viberations of Natraja's presence in encountering the reality of common life. The experience pulsates as it mediates the polarities of experience from the meditative upsurge of Shiva's descent, in human confrontation of time and space reality and the sheer working through the clutch of man's naturality, however consuming it might become.

The protagonist originates from the sounds, articulating the orality of the first language within the expressive possibilities of English language :

> Dim, Dim, Dram Dim Dram Divine drum beats
> 'Om (, 'Om', 'Om' echoes the cosmos and dances,
> 'I am' 'I am' 'I am' in Chidambaram'

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Open the doors and windows of your heat

And burn all the goods you've storted therein :
The sound you hear in your heart in His
The fact *Shiva* dances ever in your heart.

('The Dance of Shiva')

From the meditative orality, he enters the consciousness of the reader, as of his own, with purging intensity over fearful appearance of things, what we call the circuit of 'maya' with revealing experience of His presence :

..... O fear no more
The drum in the other announced the creative lore :

(The Dance of Shiva)

When fear is overcome, even the "The copper Natraja" magnifies to "infinity enlarge". The rest of the poems illustrate the expansion of the devine experience, what Blake Says, is potential, in every man; but "Human Form Devine" is realised by the degree of the devotee in him.

First, there is an explosion into "tiny parts innumerable/each a world" (The Cosmic Seed), only then," two tender leaves began to breath the first fragrance of breeze/the sun storted at it long." (The Cosmic Seed). In "the Swan in the Mansarover", the protagonist indicates the spell on the poet's craft :

Poet's thought and Image are one
Like Swan's hunger and his pearl

Swan's metaphor causes resonance of the poetic vision. The "Negative Capability" (Keatsian phrase) refers to the process of this vision :

The pattern of meaning untold
Let not your shadow cut
Across the folds of the silken veil
of the bridge
of thought

In Sculpter's art too, the process of his visionary experience takes place :

The stone prays for purgation.....
and them

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....Rama has touched the stone
and the stone forgets the pain chisel gave
(The Sculpter)

The process is indicated in Nature's blossoming act :

In the cloudless dawn
In which bathes
The rainbow child
(A Lotus Blossoming)

The process is extended as a song of singing bird, Bulbul, the popular Indian singing bird of India like Western Skylark :

The rose may be a lover of music
she of pink and green together
But love, life, beauty and music
Are all served on the dinning table
(A Bulbul on the Rose Bush)

The process is further transformed into the experience of female beauty :

From the *Sanctum Sanctorum* or she in front of Him
Though all could easily guess
Smile was mixed with fragrance
(A Flower Girl)

The context of the sanskrit words is transpired within the medium. The creative process of The Dance of Shiva, then, is incarnated as a rhythm of life and death, suffering and love, darkness and light, indeed the passage through life's experiences, always yearning for devine insight. This universal alternation ranges from man's experiential sense of seasons and time, to minor experiences of mundane life, which is part of the totality of man's universe. In the universal motion of man's world, his perceptions of seasons in 'Indian Spring', his sense of transpiring with time in "An early Winter Evening", his need to be released from the agonising human situations, one feels that the protagonist is witnessing through practical prayer, through things which touch him emotionally :

The world is a marshly place none can wade
Though it without being swallowed
Knee-deep, thigh deep, neck deep in the mud
.....
The face changes its perspective—and all is reversed

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The motion of drumming lies in the reversing perspective, from agitations, fever and fret of mankind to each man's individual effort to release himself in his own reception of Shiva, or for any diety, for that matter, through his sounds, hearing, breathing and his own articulations of them which enable him to encounter reality of life. From this encountering, he gains a life-force in going through the creative processes of different arts, through nature's working processes and translating them for his own sound of dharma, his spiritual destination : "Shiva Bhootva Shivam Yajena :".

This life-force maintains his mediating act between the extremity of mundane life and that of dharma which his experiencing Atma keeps on insunating to him. In "A pair of pigions"

And when I see your young ones receive
Corn seeds from your loving beaks
My father and mother who are no more
Begin to fondle and kiss my tear –washed cheeks

The image reminds the human obligation for father, such as "A daughter's marriage" :

You begin to think you are
You or some one else
or you are your daughter

The image builds up to a father's energy for his duty as a natural function not as a task, but as a natural drum beating of Shiva's Dance. The rest of the poems, as the titles suggest, evidence, Shiva's Dance of life and death, love and sorrow, his drumming through illusive forms as processes of human perceptions : "The Churning of Seas", "A day of Glory", "City Looks", "The poisoned looks", "The private Ward", "Waiting for a resurrection", "Thoughts on Ghandhi Jayanti", "Mother India" "My Fiftieth Birthday" "A Burning pyre from the Bridge", and "A Talk to Myself". The book has a beautiful get up, illustrative enough of the figure of Nataraja as a pictorial sign of what is inside the poems, and appropriately designed in colour scheme. It is generously priced in terms of what it offers to the reader.

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SRI AUROBINDO'S *SAVITRI*—A VISTA BEYOND FAITH

Lille Madan Jit

Savitri is an overpraised epic, because most of its critics are Aurobindo's ardent devotees. For them it is a scripture not to be questioned, but merely accepted. Anything mystifying or ambiguous is attributed to the sacred profundity of the text which is beyond a lay reader's comprehension.

Sisir Kumar Ghosh in his article "Sri Aurobindo—Poet as Seer" dismisses those who fail to appreciate Aurobindo's poetry : "Here is poetry such as Rishis wrote. Not to recognise it is to declare oneself insensitive".[1] Hindus believe that Rishis were divines and wrote our scriptures. To exalt Aurobindo to the level of the Rishis is a matter of faith and not one of literary merit. Ghosh leaves no option to the neutral reader to differ from the devotees' praises. It is unfair to brand all those readers who fail to appreciate Aurobindo as insensitive. Ghosh stipulates that the reader has to prepare himself before approaching Aurobindo's poetry. He says : "Perhaps to appreciate this poetry we need a hierarchy of the imaginative life, a renewal of symbolic modes of correspondence which we have all but lost, a loss to which the proliferating interest in myths and symbols is an oblique reminder".[2] This hardly seems a critical justification. Had Prof. Ghosh demanded the readers' familiarity with English and Indian prosodic forms or with the craft and convention of the eastern and western epic traditions, or even the ethos and philosophy of both the east and the west, one would understand his concern. Admittedly, not everyone responds to poetry and more specifically to epical poetry. But there are many who respond to poetry and yet have been indifferent to Aurobindo's poetry *Savitri* appears specially sterile to some readers of poetry. Prof. Ghosh's verdict is too severe on them.

A. B. Purani further exalts Aurobindo and says, "*Savitri*" is a gift of the power of speech. The goddess of speech is called Saraswati and *Savitri* is like a gift from the goddess Saraswati to mankind—it is not an intellectual expression of some individual".[3] That means it is the ulti-

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mate expression of a number of divine powers. This is characteristically a Hindu viewpoint where different attributes are presided over by various gods and goddesses.

Prema Nand Kumar, Purani, Sethna, and Dr. A. N. Dwivedi term *Savitri* as "Mantric poetry". Explaining what mantric poetry is Prema Nand Kumar writes : "The mantra is actually a creative force emanating from the highest overhead level, charged with the rapturous and lustrous potencies of the spirit, and using as its native language a revelatory, inspired, intuitive word limpid or subtly vibrant or densely packed with the glory of this ecstasy and lustre".[4]

A passage like this simply confuses. The last bit is quoted from Aurobindo's own definition of mantric poetry from *The Future Poetry*.

Mantra is a Hindu word used for Vedic hymns. It is applied to sacred texts meant for incantation. It is surcharged with emotion. To call the poetry of *Savitri* mantric is to disarm the reader and silence all criticism Hereby to call it mantric is not enough. We must know wherein lies the mantric quality.

Purani goes on to say that the poetry of *Savitri* has the power to change human life. He says certain words like "Bande Mataram" and "workers of the world unite" have changed history, therefore, *Savitri* might in the end prove to have similar power. Mr. Purani is equating poetry with rhetoric and claiming spiritual power for both. It is surprising how lines from epic poetry can be compared to political slogans. The two slogans were used at a point in history for specific purposes. Once the goal was achieved they became obsolete and now the only importance they have is historical. We do not respond to them in the same way as we respond to lines from Shakespeare. Good literature is of universal human interest and not merely of historical importance. Mr. Purani is trying to exalt *Savitri* to the point where it can be claimed to have caused a spiritual revolution. Chaucer and Shakespeare and Milton and Eliot have caused no spiritual revolution and yet they are considered as major writers.

Aurobindo himself declares that his poetry is beyond the confines of the intellect. He categorically states :

"I receive from above my head and receive changes and corrections from above without any invitation by myself or labour of the brain.

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Even if I change a hundred times, the mind does not work at that, it only receives".[5]

Modern psychology would refute these claims and say that it is the whole mind that functions, even though under pressure of the sub-conscious. Aurobindoites certainly think that by subscribing to the view that *Savitri* contains the outpourings of a saint receiving inspiration from empyrean heights, they are elevating the epic into a divine song like the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.

Other critics such as Gokak & Reddy[6], Dr. Rameshwar Gupta[7], Nolini Kanta Gupta[8], S. K. Prasad[9], M. P. Pandit[10], Y. S. Chandran[11] and Judith Tyberg[12] are equally fulsome in praise of the epic and say more or less the same thing. Quoting them would be repetitive.

One crucial difference between the Indian epics and *Savitri* is, language. Religion is part of a person's emotional state. Response to religious texts is closely linked with the language in which the religious text is rendered. The tension between his thought structure and the linguistic structure of his chosen medium is observable. Such tension can of course be creative but in the case of a failure of imagination, can lead to stilted language and an overall impression of incongruity. For Indians *Savitri* is written in a foreign language, whereas the kind of experience that Aurobindo's *Savitri* seeks to convey is probably alien to the English mind. One can understand the dilemma better by analysing one of the major statements on Poetry by Aurobindo himself in his book *The Future Poetry*. He questions, "what may be the nature of poetry, its essential law, Snd how out of that arises the possibility of its use as the mantra of the Real"[13]. As mentioned earlier the devotees also use the term "mantric poetry" under the influence of Aurobindo usage. He says,

> "neither the intelligence, the imagination nor the ear are the true recipients of the poetic delight . . the true hearer the true creator is the soul . . the more directly the word reaches and sinks deep into the soul, the greater the poetry".[14]

Aurobindo does not lay much stress on technique; writing about the act of creation he says,

> "in the heat of creation the intellectual sense of it becomes a subordinate action or even a mere undertone in his mind, and in his best moments he is permitted in a way, to forget it altogether".[15]

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It is this which makes Aurobindo sometimes write his epic in strict adherence to epical laws, and other times to forsake those laws in an innovatory gust. He gives importance to intuition rather than the rational mind. He says, "Reason and taste, two powers of the intelligence, are rightly the supreme gods of the prose stylist, while to the poet they are only minor deities".[16]

Aurobindo lays a great deal of stress on rhythm, "a perfect rhythm will often give immortality to work which is slight in vision".[17] Metre is not important and is considered, "a frivolous artificiality or a falsification of true, free and natural poetic rhythm".[18] "Mere force of language tacked on to the trick of the metrical beat does not answer the higher description of poetry; it may have the form or its shadow, it has not the essence".[19]

Aurobindo's views on imagery in poetry are important. He says:

> "Poetry like the kindred arts of paiuting, sculpture, architecture, appeals to the spirit of man through significant images, and it makes no essential difference that in this case the image is mental and verbal and not material"[20]

This is a dangerous thesis for *Savitri's* preponderantly vague images are an important cause for its vagueness and insipidness. To give an example we will examine an image when the epic opens. Aurobindo is describing the atmospheric environment when Savitri awakes on that fateful day when Satyavan has to die :

> "As if solicited in an alien world
> With timid and hazardous instinctive grace,
> Orphaned and driven out to seek a home,
> An errant marvel with no place to live,
> Into a far-off nook of heaven there came
> A slow miraculous gestures dim appeal."[21]

An abstract quality like "instinctive grace" is qualified by being "timid and hazardous"—both are contradictory. in the first place and secondly there is no material image that grips the mind. Aurobindo would justify it on the ground that it is mental and verbal. A little later in the above passage he mentions, "an errant marvel with no place to live." Now what exactly is an errant marvel is difficult to say. Such images obscure the poetry and it is difficult to keep the interest alive as one is carried from one obscurity to another.

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Aurobindo justifies this by saying :

"the poet has to make us live in the and in the soul inner mind what is ordinarily lived in the outer mind and the senses, and for that he must first make us see by the soul in its light and with its deeper vision what we ordinarily see in a more limited and halting fashion by the senses and the intelligence."[22]

For an ordinary mortal this distinction between the soul on one side and senses and intelligence on the other is rather confusing. Discussion on that is strictly the realm of philosophy, but since Aurobindo makes the difference in order to justify his imagery, we have to decide whether there can be anything in this world which can by-pass the intellect and senses and supposed to be comprehensible by the pure soul.

To make matters more complicated Aurobindo divides the soul further into the surface soul and the inner soul and poetry which appeals to the surface souls is considered inferior. He thinks :

"Byron or the less inspired mass of Elizabethan drama . . . has its pleasures for the mind and the surface soul in us, and it is certainly quite legitimate to enjoy them . . . ; but if we rest content with these only, we shall never get very high up the hill of the Muses."[23]

Many critics have found defects in Byron's poetry but the reasons they give are either semantic, phonetic or thematic which are palpable. Merely to say that they appeal to the surface soul is to evade realities and concretizations.

At one place Aurobindo speaks disparagingly about the importance laid to the content of poetry. He says, "The tendency of the modern mind at the present day seems to be towards laying a predominant value on the thought in poetry."[24]

Yet his epic *Savitri* is full of didactic philosophy. To be theoretically sound does not necessarily mean that the poet in Aurobindo can equate with the critic. He is on sound ground when he writes :

"It is not necessary for him to have an intellectual philosophy of life or a massage for humanity, which he choses to express in verse because he has the metrical gift and the gift of imagery, or a solution of the problems of the age or a mission to improve mankind, or, as it is said, "to leave the world better than he

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found it." As a man, he may have these things, but the less he allows them to get the better of his poetical gift the happier it will be for his poetry."[25]

As discussed in the chapters on philosophy, *Savitri* is full of metaphysical and ethical dicta quite in contradiction to what Aurobindo professes as the ideal in poetry. The key to the problem lies in another passage :

"The Prophet announces the Truth as the word of god or his command, he is the giver of the message; the poet shows us Truth in its power of beauty, in its symbol or image, or reveals it to us in the workings of Nature or in the workings of life, and when he has done that, his whole work is done; he need not be its explicit spokesman. The philosopher's business is to discriminate Truth and put its parts and aspects into intellectual relation with each other; the poet is to seize and embody aspects of Truth in their living relations, or rather,—for that is too philosophical a language,—to see her features and excited by the vision create in the beauty of her image."[26]

This is exactly what Aurobindo has attempted. The philosopher in him has tried to become the poet. He presumes that by adequate symbol and imagery he has eradicated the philosopher but we find that his imagery fails and long didactic harangues interfere with the poetic muse. Poetry should make us apprehend the vision, whereas Aurobindo's opaque imagery confuses by being too intellectual.

Aurobindo is against realism. He says :

"Realistic art does not and cannot give us a scientifically accurate presentation of life, because Art is not and cannot be Science."[27]

He believes that great poetry can be possible only when the age and country contribute to make it great :

"It is not sufficient for poetry to attain high intensities of word and rhythm; it must have, to fill them, an answering intensity of vision. And this does not depend only on the individual power of vision of the poet, but on the mind of his age and country."[28]

Aurobindo believed in the greatness of his country and that is why he chose an Indian theme. As stated elsewhere this combination of

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Indian theme with English language has created an ambiguous dichotomy.

Even if it is conceded that *Savitri* is supernatural poetry, it should be subject to rational analysis. One finds Aurobindo's epic style highly artificial. His syntex is very far from the syntax of common speech. It is impossible to read *Savitri* aloud without going far beyond the range of one's normal mode of speech. Aurobindo's poetry may be grave at times but it is neither impassioned nor eloquent even in situations which are extraordinary. One such example is Savitri's dialogue with Death. The thought may at times be profound but there is no music that enchants or disturbs. Savitri is attempting to demolish death, but she does not emerge as a woman with a sense of purpose and confidence at the feat she is attempting to achieve. We know Savitri will be victorious because the subject of an epic had always been an enterprise successfully performed by the hero. *Savitri* as the heroine is victorious, but her victory is not convincing. The flaw seems to be in Aurobindo's choice of the subject. Vanquishing death is a subject unsuitable for extended narrative treatment in the form of a classical epic.

The question of what Savitri has to offer to a modern reader is a central critical issue. Aurobindo's intense belief that he was writing a poem that should be doctrinal to the world makes him sacrifice poetry to philosophy. In addition, the theme of perpetuity which he set himself to illuminate for our imaginations is anti-empirical and therefore unconvincing. It is not alive enough to be accepted or rejected by the mind. Aurobindo writes in English and therefore speaking to those who find the basic tenets of his yogic feats intellectually untenable and its moral teaching repugnant. Although Aurobindo's attempt is to integrate eastern and western thought, his stress and emphasis remain on Indian thought and one is surprised at Aurobindo's boldness in attempting to cast the purely imaginary albeit hallowed story of the Mahabharata into the form of a classical epic. Aurobindo makes a Deity the heroine of his epic, and weaves around her a whole system of theology which might win acceptance with a seventeenth century Milton but not with a twentieth century Aurobindo.

As far as the hero is concerned Milton makes the son of God, the hero of his epic and that becomes a major flaw in *Paradise Lost* for it is Satan who gets imbued with the heroic qualities of courage, tenacity and perseverance.

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Although divine inspiration is assumed to have prompted Savitri, yet it does not appear to be a product of a freely creative imagination, and seems to be a work of reason presenting the abstractions of intellect rather than the living truths of imagination. Aurobindo presumed that by presenting the means of overcoming death his epic will have universal appeal and it would excite the sympathy of succeeding generations of mankind. His fable is interspersed with metaphysical queries such as : Why do pain and sin exist. Aurobindo thrusts his own answers and justifications instead of floating the queries for the free moral judgement of mankind. The reader of a literary epic is not looking for an evolutionary theory of man. Milton too presents the theory of redemption, but his epic is not successful because of it but inspite of it. Aurobindo presents along with his philosophy glimpses of theology and mysticism which in large part are expressed through a mythology which would have been better left in the Mahabharata. In the intellectual and scientific atmosphere of todays world, Aurobindo's system seems a historic fossil embedded in a sterile atmosphere of his poem.

Aurobindo with all sincerity wants to convince us that death can be overcome and shows in his epic the way to do so. He devotes twenty-two cantos to the journey of Savitri's father Aswapathy, which is nothing but Aurobindo's way of showing how an individual through spiritual means may reach divine grace. Later he devotes another nine cantos to Savitri's journey which is again an example for the aspirant to emulate and acquire self-realization and immortality. Sometimes a doubt arises that perhaps Aurobindo meant a symbolic immortality. That once a person acquires self-realization he faces life's trial with equanimity. But this symbolic interpretation does not square with Aurobindo's theory of evolution. He believed that the body too undergoes a transformation and the soul and body both become immortal. The devotees of Aurobindo had become so convinced of this theory that when Aurobindo died they tried to preserve his body thinking that bodily decay may not settle in his case.

The epic, instead of being a stupendous and liberating work of the imagination, appears to be a massive cautionary tale. Some of the sermons and metaphysical speculations in *Savitri* are subtle and searching and there should be no wish to question their salutariness, but one should not be forced to tie Aurobindo at every point to a direct exemplary purpose.

The dicta enshrined in the epic is not poetically rendered and when

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readers complain about it they are accused of being anti-spiritual. Such comments seem more concerned with the readers' morals than with Aurobindo's meaning. Admittedly the reader has to make the initial act of generous willingness to concede the assumptions of the poet, for epic poetry can only exist on a basis of shared assumptions. But at the same time it is the poet's duty to present those ideals and beliefs which animate a culture be it eastern or western.

Aurobindo departs from convention and does not open his epic with an invocation to the muse. The advantage of opening with an invocation is shat the poet gets a chance of declaring the importance and truth of his subiect, that he is goning to relate, and what the Muse has revealed. Epic poetry must always make this claim that what he is writing is not fiction; it is true and it is important. Although Aurobindo elsewhere maintains that he writes under divine inspiration, it is enigmatic why he does not follow epical convention and maintain his claim in the opening. The first fifty two lines are impressive with their simple syntax and solemn balance, one great rolling sentence after another. But confusion starts soon after, Aurobindo introduces a simile. The simile extends to four lines with just one comma at the end of the third line .

As if a childlike finger laid on a cheek
Reminded the endless need in things
The heedless mother of the universe,
An infant longing clutched the sombre vast.
Insensibly somewhere a breach began :
A long lone line of hesitating hue
Like a vague smile tempting a desert heart
Troubled the far rim of life's obscure sleep.

Savitri, p. 2

First the image evoked is highly stylish, "A childlike finger laid on a cheek", secondly it illuminates nothing. The simile is confused and one does not understand what is the "infant longing" and why does it clutch the somber vast. The infant longing could be the germ of progress that is embedded in every human heart for Aurobindo begins and ends the epic with Savitri.

"She brooded through her stillness on a thought
Deep-guarded by her mystic folds of light,
And in her bosom nursed a greater dawn".

Savitri, p. 724,

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We had started with a dawn, but that was "unlit temple of enternity, whereas at the close :

"....splendid with the moon dreaming in heaven
In silver peace, possessed her luminous reign".

Savitri, p. 724.

This progress to luminosity is due to evolution in which Savitri had actively participated and in which divine intervention was necessary. In the conclusion nothing is concluded for Savitri and Satyavan are just beginning to launch their lives in a new era :

"With linked hands Satyavan and Savitri
Hearing a marriage march and nuptial hymn,
Where waited them the many-voiced human world."

Savitri, p. 724.

Defended by mutual love and divine love they move out into the world of time. They are seen alone and yet they are not solitary, if Aurobindo has succeeded in reaffirming the doctrine of God's constant care for mankind. Aurobindo hopes that he has been able to convince the reader that the divinity in man and the divinity in heaven will not let the human being wallow in ignorance and mortality. It is impossible to believe that Aurobindo embarked on his poem in the belief that he could solve the intellectual problems and difficulties that are inherent in the doctrine of one divine deity who controls the entire universe, and at the same time giving credence to the theory of evolution. The intellectual and moral difficulties involved in the belief that the will of God is the final activating cause of all that happens and all that exists are only too obvious and can be exposed by any one. To believe that God is omnipotent, that his purposes cannot be frustrated, and yet that his creatures are free to act as they choose is to believe what is, however, the theologians argue it, on the face of it a logical contradiction. Yet Aurobindo also believes in evolution which would imply that God has not created the universe by an act of will nor need take any interest in its history, for evolution means automatic progress. But Aurobindo's divine deity whom Aswapathy approached and who granted him the boon of a divine daughter is a deity who watches over the life of the world, directing the course of history, judging its actions and bringing it ultimately back to unity with Herself. This is clear from the passage where

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the Divine Mother tells Aswapathy :

"O strong forerunner, I have heard thy cry.
One shall descend and break the iron Law,
Change Nature's doom by the lone Spirit's power,
A limitless mind that can contain the world,
A sweet and violent heart of ardent calms,
Moved by the passions of the gods shall come".

Savitri, p. 346

Aurobindo's choice of the word "violent" alongwith "sweet" is surprising. Why should the divine incarnation have a "violent heart"— Later Aurobindo writes :

"Fate shall be changed by an unchanging will",

Savitri. p, 346.

Fate means fixity, if it will be changed then the term "fate" is inappropriate. On the contrary it is the word "will" which may admit an element of change. Aurobindo's choice of words throughout the epic is full of contradictions.

It is not possible to believe that when Aurobindo declared his purpose of "to hew the way to immorality" he was happily unaware of the dilemma that the rendering of this conception in epic form inevitably posed. The crux of the problem lies in equating the concept of God with that of evolution. When Aswapathy reaches the Divine Creatrix she tells him in a lengthy speech of about 250 lines to give up his mission and rest content in personal salvation. But Aswapathy is adamant and eventually the Divine Creatrix agrees to send a divine incarnation to fulfil Aswapathy's wishes. Why should Aswapathy who is a mortal, more concerned about humanity than the Divine Creatrix? Aurobindo does not attempt to disguise, that the ultimate responsibility for the world as we know it is God's. Why should it take a mortal to persuade God to redeem humanity.? God should do this in his own great munificence.

Aurobindo could not have dedicated himself to the writing of his epic in the hope that he might in the writing of it convince himself and his readers of the reasonableness of his theosophy. Instead he must have chosen his subject because it allowed him the greatest possible scope for imagination and invention on the basis of known and accepted truths. The particular emphasis that he laid on

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the story was partly because of his own individual mind and temperament; and partly that of his age when the evolutionary theory had gained credibility with even Marx admitting its validity. One does hear in Aurobindo's voice that thrilling note of personal anguish in trying to solve the riddle of humanity's suffering. The doctrines to which Aurobindo gives grand expression are of the Divine Mother's goodness and overflowing boutdy in creation, of Her mercy to fallen men, and Her will and power to bring good out of evil. It is in Aswapathy's response to the divine bounty and to divine mercy that the wheel for redemption of mankind is set in motion. At the same time he does bestow dignity on man as a responsible being. He tries with all sincerity to give answers to ethical and moral questions which vex us to this day and tries to explain the mystery of the origin of evil. He merely declares that evil is something more than human, it is a cosmic force. "Pain was the first-born of the Inconscience which was the body's dumb original base" (p. 443). But in dealing with these abstract ideas Aurobindo forgets the limitations of his art, through which he expresses conceptions beyond the reach of narrative and pictorial images.

Helen Gardner writes. "Every great work of art creates its own universe that obeys its own imaginative laws"[29] If we have to look at the universe of Savitri, it is highly undramatic. Aurobindo's imagination has created a universe in which there are very few characters. Most of the action is narrated and, even when there are dialogues, they are so lengthy that they lose dramatic intensity. Sometimes an entire canto is devoted to one person's speech. The subject that he took his epic first pleased him as a subject for philosophy. The ethical and metaphysical dicta from *The life Divine* are incorporated in his epic. A major portion of the epic is devoted to the father and daughter's journey in quest of a spiritual Holy Grail. Out of the twelve books, only one is devoted to the human story of Satyavan and Savitri, and that also in only three cantos.

Aurobindo sees poetry as a part of a larger experience, as a means of communication with the spiritual world which lies behind the visible. For him the poet is almost a medium, an interpreter of the unseen, and his poetry is the record of the revelations given to him, because of his conviction that the poet is seer. This may be so but we do not read poetry to understand metaphysics or improve our ethics.

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*THE ORPHIC POET IN BLAKE'S *MILTON* AND CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL THEORY

Devinder Mohan

What may words say, or what may words not say,
Where truth it selfe must speake like flatterie ?
Within what bounds can one his liking stay,
Where Nature doth with infinite agree ?
What *Nestor's* counsell can my flames alay,

Since Reason's selfe doth blow the cole in me ?
And ah what hope, that hope should once see day,
Where *Cupid* is sworne page to Chastity ?
Honour is honour'd, that thou doest possesse,
Him as thy slave, and now long needy Fame.
Doth even grow rich, naming my *Stella's* name.
Wit learnes in thee perfection to expresse,
Not thou by praise, but praise in thee is praisde;
It is a praise to praise. when thou art praisde.

(Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, Sonnet 35)

The myth of Orpheus offers a parable which demonstrates through its metaphoric rendering of the poetic process, both the poet as a form of "emanation" (to use Blake's term) of his own historical time and his relation to the tradition of poetry. In its symbolic form, the myth reveals a constant process of unfolding the poetic reality concealed in the empirical form of history. Elizabeth Sewell tells the story in this context, seeing the poet like Orpheus, as an "undaunted lover[1] of truth" hidden in the abstracting folds of temporal reality. She states :

> The story, as it will be taken here, falls into three parts. First, Orpheus makes rocks and trees, moves and subdues the beast by his voice, music being wedded to language and poetry by natural right, next, after the death of his wife Eurydice, he goes into the

*NOTE : The textual references have been taken from *The Poetry of Milton Blake* ed., David V. Erdman (New York : Dubleday Company, 1970).

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> underworld to find her, gaining admittance and the granting of his request by his poetic powers but losing prize by looking back at her at the mouth of Hell, in disobedience of the conditions laid down; lastly, he is torn in pieces by the Maenads, his head floating down the river still singing . . . the head came to rest in a cave, where it is prophesied day and night till Apollo himself bade it silent. The lyre was taken up to Heaven to become one of the constellations.[2]

According to the first part, Orpheus puts the power of sound in the lyre which is made of natural reed. The power of sound in a form of music descends into the labyrinths of nature. Since Orpheus drew inspiration from his wife to play the lyre to the music of the forms of nature, he goes to Hades to recover her.

If the animals and natural forms to whom Orpheus sings are regarded as objects of the historical reality for the poet, and Eurydice, his wife, the form of the historical institution, then, as the poet is borne, or as he confronts the world of physical dimensions, he descends into it, breaking its barriers, in quest of the inner reality potential in man (Blake's Human Form Divine).

In this quest, love goes on mutating in forms in the ascending order of visionary truth. This power annihilates the physical forms of the world as he goes through its temporal dimensions. The form of music, then, is the form of power which enables both its creator and listener to experience the annihilation of time, and subsequently, the visionary form of its truth. The inner reality which is rendered through the dimensions of the outer reality thus becomes the Orphic form of man's fulfilment. Finally, as the lyre joins the constellations to shine on mortal nights, likewise the finished form of music—Orpheus' silent head in the cave guarded by Apollo—keeps inspiring the mortal beings to the inner reality of which each of them forms a part. The body is transformed to the head (or joined to it), as man attains an improvement on his sensual being (Blake's Marriage of Heaven and Hell).

The poet uses the natural language instead of the natural reed (Sound), to gain the intimations of reality at the moment of recognition of the poetic power in him. The language of poetry emerges from the urgency of giving a form to the experience of these intimations as against the natural forms of sensory reality. Wordsworth's "Ode to Immortality" illustrates this poetic process directly. The poetic power lost to

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the speaker in the beginning of the poem is restored towards its end as language creates itself from its natural incapacity of words, meanings and the frozen objects of nature, to the forms of experience.

As man recognizes the power of poetry in him, he recognizes the power of the silent head of Orpheus (separated from the historical reality). In order to give form to silence, he descends into the body with the power of the head, and emanates through it, consuming thereby the material of natural sensuous reality. The process becomes the creative process of poetic language. As it emerges, it creates progressive forms of the Orphic vision, or the totality of the poet's experience of silence.

With regard to the poet's relation with his historical time and thus with the tradition of poetry behind him, he undergoes the complex Orphic process. The tradition of poetry acts like the silence of the Orphic form incarnated within the body of language. His historical problems form the suffering body of Orpheus, separated from its transforming principle of poetry. The poet confronts the ordeal of separation between the head and body of Orpheus. In order to restore life to Orpheus, he descends into the language available to him within the historical condition. The language of fixed representation of history impinging on his life is transformed into a poetic vision, mediating however the physical reality. The poet works against the historical condition of his age. In this quest, he needs to face the poverty of natural language, in order to "dislocate it if necessary" (to use T. S. Eliot's phrase) to its full complexity of expression. The historical problems demand a kind of resolution through the language of poetry in which the past poetic tradition comes to terms with that of its present form, in maintaining a medium of Orphic silence. The Orphic silence serves as an indestructible principle to create in the history of man an ever-boundless reality. The poet in man rebounds against it through his historical resistence. He feels its vibration, and subsequently is driven to maintain the Orphic power to its fulfilling totality by destroying the forms of natural history with the consummation of his natural self (biological man), only to realize that the otherness of history is revealed beyond its natural mirror. The natural language, in terms of historical condition, breaks open the poet's mind, from its incapacity of words to their forms as concrete actions. The words mutate the historical objects to the mental forms, so that history no longer exists in its own rationale, in its religious and cultural conflicts,

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in its dogmatic priesthood institutions, in its chaotic noises; rather, it exists very intimately in its 'otherness', in the mute form of its vision revealed in and through it, and finally, in its characteristic form of Orphic silence. Erich Auerbach's controlling principle in his book *Mimesis*, it seems, is rooted in the Orphic process of poetry. In the epilogue of his book he points out :

> An occurrence on earth signifies not only itself, but at the same time another, which it predicts or confirms, *without prejudice to the power of its concrete reality here and now*. The connection between occurrences is not regarded as primarily a chronological or causal development but as *oneness within the divine plan, of which all the occurrences are parts and reflections*.[3] (italics mine)

The concrete reality is transformed to its otherness in the Orphic ourney of the poet. However, this concrete reality provides a "figura" (to use Auerbach's term), in which the poet works his experience towards the realization of its silent form. In his essay on Dante, in the same book, he states :

> I stressed the fact that a figural schema permits both its poles—the figure and its fulfillment—to retain the characteristics of concrete historical reality, in contradiction to what obtains with symbolic or allegoric personifications, so that figure and fulfilment—although one signifies another—have a significance which is not incompatible with their being real. An event taken as a figure preserves its literal and historical meaning. It remains an event, does not become a mere sign. . . And because of the special conditions of man's self-fulfilment in the beyond, his human reality asserts itself even more strongly, concretely and specifically, than it does in antique literature. For this self-fulfilment, which comprises the individual's entire past—*objectively as well as in memory—involves ontogenetic history, the history of an individual's personal growth*; the resultant of that growth, it is true, lies before us as a finished product.[4] (italics mine)

The figura and its fulfillment as an integrated process of the poet's journey through natural history and ontogenetic history, it seems, is analogous to the figural method of Orphic fulfilment of poetic silence. The linguistic transformation of the language of poetry, goes through the process of feminization of thought (Blake's emanation) within the Orphic journey. Blake's idea of "vortex" discussed in a variety of

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ways by his critics, somehow conforms to Auerbach's idea of figura and its fulfilment. In his poem *Milton*, Blake maintains :

> The nature of infinity is this : That every thing has its
> OwnVortex; and when once a traveller thro' Eternity
> Has passed that Vortex, he perceives it roll backward behind
> His path, into a globe itself infolding ; like a sun ;
> Or like a moon, or like a universe of starry majesty,
> While he keeps onwards in his wondrous journey on the earth
> Or like a human form, a friend with whom he livd benevolent.
> As the eye of man views both the east & west encompassing
> Its vortex ; and the north & south, with all their starry host;
> Also the rising sun & setting moon he views surrounding
> His corn-fields and his valleys of five hundred acres square.
> Thus is the earth one infinite plane, and not as apparent
> To the weak traveller confin'd beneath the moony shade.
> Thus is the heaven a vortex passd already, and the earth
> A vortex not yet pass'd by the traveller thro' Eternity.
> (I, 15.21-36)

The traveller here is BLAKE. The total experience of the vortex is incarnated in the Human Form Divine, as the language of the poem creates itself through the progressive visions of Blake, the poet. At this point, the context of these lines is relevant to the Orphic journey of the poet, and in its working, to Blake's poetics. The poet is like a traveller descending from eternity to earth, where he unfolds himself in the concrete forms of natural reality. Just as a font of light from a spear of the sun permeates through earth, burning matter as it purifies itself to join its original source, likewise the poet, as a prophet, traverses the earth, burning its form with his own intensifying prophetic light, to reach his destination in eternity. As Blake says in "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell" " . . . But first the notion that man has a body distinct from his soul, is to be expunged ; this I shall do, by printing in the infernal method, by corrosives, which in Hell are salutary and medicinal, melting apparent surfaces away, and displaying the infinite which was hid" (Plate 14, page 38). The process of melting away the surfaces suggests the Orphic journey of the poet with the silent power of Orpheus' head working through the body of the natural world, its complete forms and intermediate silences between them. As the poet works through the forms, he unrolls himself in each of the respective

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vortices. The act of travelling or reading through the vortices of objects implies in a very special sense, the process of figural fulfilment of the poet in which the figure of concrete reality of the object becomes its characteristic medium. Perceiving the vortex of the object, as it unrolls behind the poet's mind's eye, is to create the poetic figure of the earthly reality. Both Hazard Adams and W. B. Yeats strive to show the working of Blakean vortex, the latter more complexly in terms of Blake's poetics which he further adapts to his own poetic idea of the gyres. Behind the eye there is no spatial image; however, in the world of concrete reality of the senses, the eye shines or unrolls the vision of the object (vortex of the object) as it experiences it. The vision or the vortex of the object is registered in the mind of the poet. At this point the poet does not need the image as he has experienced it, nor does he need to look back at the object, since he has already fulfilled the silent form of the object. To put it another way, he has created the vortex of the object through its figural fulfilment. In the continued process of the fulfilments of the complete objects, the poet experiences the progression through what Blake calls "meeting of contraries." W. B. Yeats presents an explanation of the working of vortex through the contrary vision of the poetic object :

> I had never read Hegel, but my mind had been full of Blake from boyhood up and I saw the world as a conflict—Spectre and Emanation—and could distinguish between a contrary and negation. "Contraries are positive," wrote Blake, "a negation is not contrary,"... The cones of the *tincture* mirror reality but in themselves pursued an illusion. . .by antithetical cone, which is left unshaded in my diagram, we express more and more, as it broadens our *inner world*, the shaded, we express more and more, as it broadens that objectivity of mind which, in the words of Murray Dictionary, lay "stress upon that which is external to the mind" or treats "outward things and events rather than of the inward thoughts" or seeks "to exhibit the actual facts, not coloured by opinions and feelings". *The antithetical picture* is emotional and aesthetic whereas the *primary tincture* is reasonable and moral. Within these cones move what are called the Four Faculties: *Will and Mask, Creative Mind, and Body of Fate.*[5]

In Blake's terminology, the experience of Will and Mask refers to the object and its imposing shape, to the history and its natural existence, while the figures of Creative Mind and Body of Fate

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refer to the experience of Los in the timebound reality. The primary tincture, the concrete reality as it appears to us, is transformed into the antithetical tincture in the mind of the poet. The primary tincture, then, implies the natural world of history against which the poet goes on struggling to create his own (antithetical) tincture. These two counteracting forces refer to the spectres of selfhood. The emanation of the poetic labour emerges distinctly in the performing language of poetry.

The vortex of the object represents the simultaneous working of outward reality on the mind of the poet, as it exists in the time-place world of the natural history, and the poet's act of unrolling himself into its emerging form The object speaks to the poet through the silence of its Orphic vortex. The vortex,therefore, refers to the poetic form of the object, the form which emerges through the language as it creates itself in the object's figural fulfilment. As long as "the doors of perception" are not cleansed, the language remains a veil or the spectre of the object. As,

> Thus is the earth one infinite plane, not as apparent
> To the weak traveller confin'd beneath the moony shade.

So the poet, being the silent form of Orphic journey, is prompted to express silence in his heart in the medium of poetic language. The language emerges as the object unrolls itself in his mind :

> Thus is the heaven a Vortex passed already, and the earth
> A Vortex not yet passed by the traveller thro' Eternity.

It is at the point of the vortex not yet passed by the traveller that the problem of the language of poetry begins.

When the poet descends into the chaos of his historical situation of life, he transforms his experience through the following steps of orphic process :

(1) The annihilation of the natural space of the object (the empirical figure and its destruction)

(2) The poet's immersion into his emotions evoked by the object (the Orphic descent)

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(3) The dismemberment of the object and its tragic spectacle (the death of Eurydice as a form of historical institution)

(4) The consummation of emotions or the improvement on the sensual vision of the object (the Orphic ascent)

(5) The creation of the vortex of the object (the figural fulfilment of the Orphic silence)

The language of poetry does not merely effect the production of the fifth step, it articulates the wholeness of process in the form of the poem itself. In the case of lyric or ode, this whole process can be experienced in performing language. However, the epic form visualizes the totality of the Orphic journey through the "wry lines" of all the particulars of the events which Blake alludes to in his preface to "Jerusalem" :

> Every word and every letter is studied and put into its fit place : the terrific numbers are reserved for the terrific parts—the mild & gentle, for the mild & gentle parts, and the prosaic, for inferior parts : all are necessary to each other. Poetry Fetter'd, Fetters the Human Race ! Nations are Destroy'd, or Flourish, in proportion as Their Poetry. Painting and Music, are Destroy'd or Flourish ! The Primeval State of Man, was Wisdom, Art, and Science, (Plate 3, page 144)

The terrific numbers refers to the idea of the sublime in poetry in which the terror created by the object's annihilation produces the language effecting an experience of tragic spectacle. "The mild and gentle" refer to the idea of tranquility, release and the final achievement of the form of silence in poetry. In creating this form of poetry through the continuation of tragic and gentle numbers, the poet achieves the contrary vision of each form he experiences. The inferior numbers refer to the fixities of objects, to the association between them, and to the rationale which furnishes the empirical object. Coleridge's concept of Primary Imagination also seems to suggest Blake's concept of inferior numbers of poetry, whereas his Secondary Imagination seems to illustrate the working of terrific and gentle numbers in the imagined language of poetry. In any case, language acts as the mediation rather than "unmediated form," as Geoffrey Hartman points out.[6] The mediation takes place in achieving vortex of the object experienced in the closed form of the language. In the experience of the Orphic journey, the poet does not remain in his own consciousness, as Hartman seems

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to believe ; however, this consciousness expresses the textuality of this experience, as it annihilates the sensory perception. Since the words release themselves into images, even distorted and coupled, they make the effects of certain existential forces taking place in the mind of the poet. The progression of the language carves out a monologue form of the Orphic fulfilment. The vortex of the poetic form may be termed hitherto as a progressive monologue created out of the language of poetry.

The language of poetry is certainly not the representation of unmediated vision of the consciousness of the poet. In a very special way, it mediates this object and its experience; it mediates its figura and fulfilment; it mediates the primary and secondary imagination; it mediates its terrific and gentle numbers. Although it is true that the events on earth take special forms in the mind of the poet, he keeps making these forms into certain spiral fulfilments of the historical experience. These forms then make a habitation in language which is only a fallen material, which exist in the closing spirals of the language which transforms the historical events to their figural fulfilment. The unmediated vision suggests only the depiction of poetic experience as an isolated form which does not mediate between the poet and the working experience which he undergoes. Silence of the poetic form is not of sensory consciousness, or even of emotional and psychic experience, it takes place when this consciousness is completely consummated. In this context Hartman's idea of unmediated vision is uncalled for, since the unmediating factor is effected only by consciousness, and consciousness is transformed into the mediating silence between it, the object "out" there, and the poet's mind. Hartman argues :

> The eye and the senses are made to supply not merely the ornaments but the very plot of truth. Consciousness becomes, in contact with the physical world, the source, and often the end of cognition.

Not only the four poets considered, here but the majority of poets beginning with the Romantics, refuse any but human and sensory intermediaries to knowledge, seek the hellenic innocence of senses...their doubting of the mediated vision, moreover, suggests that though they are often professed inactive believers, these poets no longer understand the concept of divine creation operative in medieval Christian thought and reaching the zenith of its artistic expression in the period between Dante and Milton.[6a]

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The divine creation is not the material of thought for the poet to be embodied in the language through its experimental resources, its passage lies through the Orphic descent into the natural situation of the historical period that is potential of the divine creation in order of vertical ascent. Dante secularized the Christian figura without prejudice to its concrete form inscribed in the way of medieval life. The process of secularization lies in the poetic voyage in and through the Christian figura. Milton's time was oppressed with political unrest and religous turmoil. These historical problems urged him to work out a Christian figura. Since he presumed Christian authority within the molested historical reality, he could not create the otherness of figura, through the creative form of poetry. If, what Hartman says is true, the Bible was enough, since the preachers were instituting its message. However, the Romantic poets were not concerned with institutionalization of Christian thought or the divine creation through sensory consciousness. They were concerned with an articulating medium which would enable them to see beyond the cognition of the senses, and thus beyond the unmediated vision of consciousness. Dante and the English Romantic poets were intimately concerned with a historical figura which was to provide them a vehicle to achieve the creative process of Orphic fulfilment. Hartman himself admits that the function of poetry as an unmediated vision is insufficiently grounded for its totality of process: "The example of Orpheus does not always suffice. The poet is compelled to find symbols, and one of them is mirror, the impersonal mirror."[7] Even if the poem mirrors a physical reality, it does so by the mediating function of language, which, in the process of its creation, makes the poet descend beyond the sensory consciousness which the object of the poem evokes. As Murray Kreger points out that Ihab Hassan, while admitting that the myth of Orpheus provides the parable of the artist of our time, argues :

> Literature records from the withering authority of Apollo, but it does not surrender itself wholly to the frenzy of Dionysus. It only *feigns* to do so. It implies self-irony and self-parody, as in the novels of Mann and Camus. . .Literature, in short, pretends to a wordy wordlessness and participates in the Dionysian denial of language not with its own flesh, but with the irony of its divided intelligence.[8]

To Hassan, literature feigns, and language, at the most, can achieve self-irony and self-parody. To him inner reality is dead; there is no mediation between mind and body, natural history and the transforming process of the language of poetry. The poet, to Hassan, wears a mechanical mask, and he manipulates the language rather than creates it.

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Language in such a case remains a broken mirror, or a withering of consciousness, a degree of mediating function of language less than that of Hartman's unmediated vision. The poetic eye does not develop as it does in the poetry of Blake, Wordsworth, Eliot and Yeats "As man is, so he sees," says Blake. The poet of Hassan is not a man who sees through the language since he is unable to recognize the figure of the historical reality. Language to him becomes merely a heap of dead images.

Thus, both Hartman and Hassan refer to unregenerative language since it either represents the mirror of isolated consciousness, or the mechanical mask. In both cases, then, the language of poetry does not mediate the historical figura with its mental vortex which fulfils the Orphic journey of the poet. Hartman's later literary criticism makes more sense :

> Temporality and authenticity are aspects, finally, of the largest topic of historical criticism : *the relation of words to place of utterance.* The metaphor of situation suggests . . . . that there is a determinable ground of presuppositions on which a writer stands consciously or unconsciously. *Even the divine word, according to Angelus Silesius could not exist without a place—the world which it creates.*[9] (Italics mine)

In his theoretical criticism, it seems, that Hartman, recognizes the mediating function of language between the historical reality and the developing vision of the poet. For, he further points out :

> Myth and metaphor are endued with the facts, the acts, the gesta of speech; if there is a mediator for our experience of literature, *it is something simply with us as the human body, namely, the human voice. It is here that one possibility of progress lies : in honoring the problematic relation of words to a reality they mediate rather than imitate. To envision "ghostlier demarcations", a poet must utter keener sounds.*[10] (Italics mine)

That language mediates human body, mind and place, rather than it imitates each of them as isolated figures, is to admit the function of language as a vehicle which transforms natural history together with human emotions into a mental vortex of Orphic fulfilment.

T. S. Eliot's argument of "Tradition and Individual Talent", Hartman's thesis of "genius and genius loci" and Auerbach's thesis of

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historic figura and its fulfilment are complementary to each other. All three of them (Hartman only in his literary criticism) implicitly maintain the mediating function of the language of poetry through the Orphic harmony of sound and silence, the emerging forms and the final completion of the vortex of the poem as its closed form.

The question arises, how the language of poetry mediates the mind and body, natural history and the mental vision. When a poet comes to place himself with a particular cross-section of historical reality, he comes to notice the religious and cultural conflicts, the political instability, the economic warfare, and owing to all of these, man's incapacity to interiorize the outer reality with the inner one. The poet creates in the poem the process of the complete Orphic journey without isolating the concrete reality as it exists. In doing so the poet, as already indicated, opens a window as he works to the demands of words and images, through a fusing interaction of mind and body. When he comes to close the form of the poem, when he has experienced the Orphic silence of the totality of the linguistic structure of the poem, he comes out more educated in dealing with the problems of environmental reality. As Murray Krieger points out :

> There can, then, be no question about history getting into literature : it is the very stuff of literature which, after all, cannot be created ex-nihilo. But this history that enters literature as its raw material is the living, felt, pulsing history of breathing men and not the static formula of ideology. So it is the history as existential force that gets into literature by being there first; it is the history as institutionalized in ideology that comes after, thanks in part to what literature shows us.[11]

Regarding the relation of the poet and the reader to the poem, Krieger says :

> Below the religious analogies lies the central claim that the miracle of every true poem is the miracle of its meaning being not just *through* the work and not just *in* the work, but at once *through* and uniquely *in* the work as body. And this to maintain its functioning simultaneously as window and mirror. It is to push us beyond and trap us within it, accomplishing the former only through accomplishing the latter : it performs the miracle in which a world enclosed by endlessly faceted mirrors, reflecting and re-reflecting images, is transformed—even as mirrors fulfil their enclosing function—so that mirrors somehow become windows opening

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> again upon the everyday world, although through them that world never again can appear to us as it did before the mirrors originally shut off from it.[12]

If we replace the endlessly faceted mirrors with the dynamic working of the vortices of the images, or states of mind unrolling themselves in those vortices, then they interact to effect an emergence of a singularly new and inclusive vision. The language of poetry, then, acts through closed forms, whether these forms are images, metaphors, or symbols, and not the open flat surfaces like mirrors of sensory consciousness. Krieger's mirrors, it seems, imply closed forms which interact with one another for mutual opening into a unified vision. As Elizabeth Sewell points out :

> Language is an open system, subject to arbitrary order and disorder. The aim of poetry is to create from language a closed relation system by resolution of the two forces of order and disorder, not by the total exclusion of one another, but utilizing each other so that each may cancel the other out and a momentary equilibrium.[13]

The momentary equilibrium refer to the point where language makes a closure as a word, as an image, as a symbol, and as the vortex of the whole poem. These figures interact through the dynamic pressures of reality contained in each of them, so as to open the closed forms of the poem, to be able to close the mediating vortex of the whole poem.

When Blake says in *Augaries of Innocence* :

> To see a world in a Grain of Sand
> And Heaven in a Wild Flower
> Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand
> And Eternity in an hour

he refers to Man, who is able to see through the material world, through the dynamic forms of nature (Wild Flower), through the mediation of mind and body (palm of your hand), and linear time (an hour). Blake's poet is thus able to see through these closed forms. The process of seeing through stamps itself on the medium of language. The medium can be colors, stone, or words, according to the choice of the artist. To Blake, a man who uses one of these atomic forms to leave a mark of his pilgrimage in this world, is really the prophet,

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and not one who merely meditates, since he is not really the poetic traveller through the forms of this world. The aspiration to be able to leave a mark in the form of timeless vortices implies a prophetic benediction for posterity. When Shelley says,

Drive my dead thoughts over the universe
Like withered leaves to quicken a new birth
And, by the Incantation of this verse

Scatter, as from an unextinguished hearth
Ashes and sparks, my words among mankind
Be through my lips to unawakened earth.

(Ode to the West Wind)

he expresses his poetic journey to be constantly available to mankind in the closed form of the language. Blake actually incarnates this whole process within the language of poetry. Although Milton is equally concerned with creating language as a closed form, yet he is not able to descend himself like Orpheus into the chaos of unregenerative symbols of the Bible. To be able to create the life potential in the Bible, the poet needs to create a body of new symbols which make effects, indeed meant to be made by the original language of the Bible. Since the text of the Bible loses its poetic form with the changes of historical ages, the poet comes to the rescue of Man, to be able to put new life into the world of the Bible. T. S. Eliot went to Hindu mythology in order to resurrect life in the Christian myth. It is not to deny the Christian faith as it were, but to be able to rebuild it by maintaining the life of language through new metaphors, symbols, and effects. Blake would have recognized T. S. Eliot as more of a poet, since Milton, according to him, did not really descend into the language to the point of its dismemberment, because the words were dictated to him by the dead symbols of the Bible. Milton was able to make the effect of "ghostly demarcation" of words, but not of the voice of Man emerging through the particulars of the problems of his age.

It seems that Milton, Blake, and T. S. Eliot were faced with similar historical problems : lack of the life of the Bible in the contemporary way of life. This lack could not be overcome by Milton. Looking back at Homer, Virgil, and Dante, his primary aim was not like each of them, to be able to dive into the past and mediate it with the future through the present; rather it was to project himself as the governing force of all time and space. This is to project the open book of the

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Bible, as Milton did in his epics, thrust before mankind. Blake and Eliot urged each individual to open this book himself through the fulfilling cause of Man as a traveller of earthly forms. Thus each of these two poets prove the life of Eternity, the life of Albion, in Blake's terminology. The poetry of each of them fulfils the silence of ultimate light through the language of poetry. They do not need an open faith or a priesthood methodology of the Bible, belief, or language, but a closed one, to enable the reader to see through individually, and see the whole. As Wallace Stevens says:

> Every poem proves another and the whole
> For the clairvoyant men that need no proof
> The lover, the believer, and the poet
> Their words are chosen out of their desire
> The joy of language, when it is themselves
> With these they celebrate the central poem,
> The fulfilment of fulfilments, in opulent,
> Last terms, the largest, bulging still with more.[14]

To Blake, Milton did not have the joy of opening a faith closed in the Orphic body of the language. He fitted the language to the open faith. He made it into an unregenerative mirror of selfhood, by presuming Christian authenticity as a matter of right, rather than creating it through the closed form of poetry. Blake shows in his poem *Milton*, how a poet can damage the language by denying his natural impulse to the joy of language, to sexual love, and experience of mind and body mutually acting on one another.

The method of the poem, as in other prophecies, involves a poetic integration of the art of poetry and painting both, into a cinematical movement of its forms. In order to transform the art of painting into poetry, without destroying its formal effects, he presents the characters, speeches, and scenes in a dynamic motion of the poem, so that they become interlocked. Likewise words, images, and symbols mutually open themselves into the form of vortices. The total movement is analogous to what Coleridge calls the movement of "secondary imagination." In this movement the cinematically-moving images and scenes undergo poetic mutations with the point of view or the macrocosm of the poem.

Since Blake moves through the poem constantly and consistently, undergoing the visionary mutations on the progressive plane of the poem,

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it finally turns out that the vortex of the poem has unrolled itself in the form of monologue. Because of this monologue form, Blake is able to maintain a tight structure, creating the language with as much intensity of form as he maintains in his lyrics. As Blake is able to create a translucence of a symbol through the medium of language, like "Tiger", "Sick Rose", and "Sunflower", he is equally able to create the characters and their speeches while maintaining the existential force of the language. As Robert Laugbaum points out :

> . . . Blake's symbol is the poem, the meaning of which we understand by penetrating the symbol to the point of intensity where opposites meet—where the fierceness of tiger meets the gentleness of lamb . . . where rose meets its amorous destroyer, and aspiration of sunflower meets aspiration of the dead youth and virgin to become an aspiration for a region that transcends both death and life.[15]

Likewise Blake penetrates the forms of the poem where characters meet as opposites, where Milton and Urizen meet, where Rintrah and Palamabron meet, where Milton and Blake meet. Seeing Blake's progression, with his poet as a hero in the poem, like Dante in *The Divine Comedy* and Wordsworth in the *Prelude*, we notice that he moves with "passion, power, strength of will, and intellect, just like those existential virtues which are independent of logical and moral correctness."[16] Thus the cinematic movement of the poem combines Blake's visual metaphors with those of poetic language of images and symbols.

In Plate One, the preface to the poem, Blake sets up the need of writing a poem in the English language which should not utilize Greek or Roman models, as Milton did. Blake calls them "hirelings" of the university wits who polluted the language of English poetry by packing it with the cold forms of Augustine reason and generalities. In their language, Blake observes the death of particulars of things. The epic artifice of Milton reflects to Blake the destruction of the closed form of the Bible's poetic vision. In destroying this form, he has destroyed the sublime bodies of the words. Since the sublime action of the mind and body is missing in the language of Milton's poetry, he invokes his Muses who inspired him. But these Muses are only the Muses of memory, since Milton wrote his epic employing his memory of the Bible stories, and the knowledge he gained from it. As he descends into "Daughters of Beulah," he descends into the world created by them in Milton the poet.

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. . . Come into my hand
By your mild power; descending down the Nerves of my right arm
From out the Portals of my Brain, where by your ministry
The Eternal Great Humanity Divine, planted his Paradise,
And in it caus'd the Spectres of the Dead to take sweet forms
In likeness of himself. Tell also of the False Tongue ! vegetated
Beneath your land of shadows : of its sacrifices, and
Its offerings; even till Jesus, the image of the Invisible God
Became its prey; (Bk I, Plate 2)

Blake visualizes thus the approach of the "Daughters of Beulah" in Milton's brain where they are obstructed to descend further into sexual emotions. Because of this limitation, Milton's brain produces the language inhabited with the "Spectres of the Dead," the language which is a false tongue. Blake indicates here that, since, Milton had not improved upon his sexual vision, he failed to achieve the vision of love in his poetry. With the lack of this vision, he is condemmed to Hell, where he confronts six women, (three, his wives and three his daughters) whom he tormented in his lifetime by denying them the love expected of him. In the Orphic context Milton failed to create in his language the sublime pathos which awaken the emotions. Blake presents the experience of the sublime by making Milton confront these six women in Hell. Thus, Milton incarnated in Blake yields to the prophetic bard with sublime awe and terror, not known to him in his own poetry. Milton's experience of the sublime in Blake's poem is indicated by the periodic repetition of the line:

Mark well my words ! they are of eternal salvation :

The bard's utterance conditions the Orphic silence, as a state of mind in this poem. The words not only ring their attention, they resurrect visually as if the bard rises to utter them. "Terrific among the Sons of Albion in chorus solemn & loud/A Bard broke forth ! all sat attentive to the awful man." The bard's name is revealed in the epic strain of his heroic action. As Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner holds the reluctant wedding guest by the action of his words, so the bard defines the significance of his present descent in the utterance of the words. "Three Classes are Created by the Hammer of Los, & Woven." The bard names himself by adopting Los' state of mind, through the symbolic action of his Hammer which produces three classes. With this action the closed form of the bardic song breaks open, and further reveals itself through the words as utterances of symbolic action, signifying the function of the

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respective forthcoming characters. In each of the stages of the bard's descent into Hell, meeting amongst others with Milton, Blake adopts a state of mind appropriate to the complete particulars of the dramatic scenes. Blake thus moves on, participating, like Dante in the *Divine Comedy*, in each situation and the state of mind of each character, transcending the limitation in each case on his monological ascent of silence.

Plate three opens with what Blake calls "the wiry line" of the aesthetics of the forthcoming poem. The reader here, with the bard's statement, "Mark well my words," is enabled to enter the first fold of the poem. The form opens thus with the bardic song. In this song is revealed Los laboring in the temporal world. He is shown laboring against Urizen's world, locked in "darkness and solitude, in chains of mind." Urizen's world here, bound only to the chains of mind, indicates Milton, Locke, and Newton caught in the language of "doubt and reasoning." Los labors against this language with his artistic Hammer on the anvils of the natural world. Like Orpheus' descent into Hades in quest of Eurydice and his musical ascent when she dies, Los' artistic labor becomes an increasingly complex action, since he is faced with a simultaneity of centrifugal descent into the sensual spirit, "a State of dismal woe," and the centrifugal ascent of poetry, hammering the words through an abstract horror : "The Eyes beheld the Abyss : lest bones of solidness freeze over all." "Two Ears in close volutions/Shot spiring out in the deep darkness & petrified as grew," "Two Nostrils bent down into the Deep," "a Tongue of hunger & thirst flamed out." Laboring through the abstract horror of all these senses, Los gains a centripetal ascent towards the Orphic vision of silence. His artistic Hammer becomes more and more constructive with the visionary form of mind. As he progresses towards the artistic vision, he comes across "Great Golgonooza." Here Orpheus' lyre rests in silence.

Los' artistic labor, involved with the simultaneous process of centrifugal descent into Urizen's world and the centripetal ascent of the artist within him, refers to the sublime creation of art through the fullness of human emotions. The words emerge as the creative process is worked against the despotic state of mind of the raw emotions. Edmund Burke's allusion to terror in the sublime may refer to the terror of sensual darkness in human emotions.[16a] His idea of "self-preservation" and "astonishment" in the sublime seems to refer to Blake's poetic ascent into sensual and sexual darkness. In Plate three, one can notice that

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Blake maintains the "preservation of self" through its astonishing awareness, while Los labors against the terrifying abstractness of the natural world of Urizen. The whole process of ascent and descent in Plate three demonstrates an artistic inquiry into the sublime of human emotions. Samuel H. Monk's inquiry of the sublime in the context of Burke, Dennis, Hutchinson, Hume, and Bailli makes a clear attempt to help the poet understand the working of human emotions in art. His explanation of the sublime might help us to understand Blake's idea of poetic art, as Plate three attempts to show. As Monk points out :

> There follows a classification of ideas that are sublime and an explanation of the sublimity of each. They are obscurity, where darkness and uncertainty arouse dread and terror (II, 3); power, where the mind is impelled to fear because of the superior force (II, 5); privations, such as darkness, vacuity, and silence which are great because they are terrible (II, 6); vastness, whether in length, height, or depth, the last being the most powerful source of sublime (II, 7); infinity, or any object because of its size seems infinite (II, 8); difficulty—that is, any object that seems to owe its existence to a vast extenditure of labor and effort (II, 12); and magnificence (II, 3).[17]

One can notice that obscurity, privation, vastness, difficulty, labor and magnificence—all these epithets mark the simultaneous working of artistic ascent and descent of Blake the poet, into the darkness and abstracting horror of Urizen's world. In the rest of the poem *Milton*, this process of poetic art is magnified in detail, as Los labors through the world of Milton, Satan, and Rintra.

In Plate four Blake descends into the state of mind of Rintra. With the help of Palamabron artistic labor, he is able to work against the deceptions of "Starry Mills of Satan" in the "Mundane Shell" of "Earth and Waters." In the horror of the abstractions of the mundane shell are imprisoned all the family of writers who damage the English language with the fixity of things and cold reasoning of scientific positivism : "Art thou not Newtons Pantocrator weaving the Woof of Locke (?)/To Mortals thy Mills seem every thing & the Harrow of Shaddai/A scheme of Human conduct invisible & incomprehensible (.)" The three classes of men which Blake refer to in Plate two are identified in Plate four with those, (1) who are not

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redeemable—Newton, Locke, and Milton, (2) who are redeemable—Rintra and Satan, (3) who are redeemed eternally—artists, Palamabron, Los, and Blake. They are classified as Roprobates, Elects, and Redeemed.[18] Each of these three classes is abstracted in sexual folds according to their position in the mundane shell. Blake labors through each of them while in the state of mind of Los, and thus each of them emerges the poetic emanation according to the degree of redemption. This is indicated in the words of Los when he says, "Thy Work is Eternal Death, with Mills & Ovens & Cauldrons. Trouble me no more, thou canst not have Eternal life. So Los spoke ! Satan trembling obeyed weeping along the way. Mark well my words, they are of your eternal Salvation" (Plate four, page 27). In terms of historical reality Plate four represents the London scene which Blake confronts. This historical reality is transformed into the Blakian mundane shell.

In Plate five Blake descends into the world of the daughters of Albion, inhabited by Milton and the tradition of poetry he maintains. In this world Milton and the mortals he imitates, stay forever since they are unable to improve their vision of things as particular forms. Their senses remain the dark abstracting illusions :

> The Eye of Man a little narrow orb closed up & dark
> Scarcely beholding the great light conversing with the Void
> All melodies & comprehending only Discord and Harmony
> The Tongue a little moisture fills, a little food it cloys
> A little sound it utters & its cries are faintly heard

As Blake descends into the presence of his senses, he meets all these writers who are unable to improve on the sensory vision of things. In Plate six Blake descends into the horrible shell of London where "In immense labours & sorrows, ever building, ever falling." He also hearts the sounds of Los' labors which create the "Wheels of Enitharmon" (Los' emanation). Since Blake works through the progressive vision of the artist, he is always in a position to hear the 'sounds of Los' hammer. Los' emanation becomes the emanation of his vision. Thus, with the sublime motion of Enitharmon's wheels, Blake recognizes the motion of particulars, "weaving the web of Life/Out from the ashes of the Dead." With the dynamic web of life, then, Blake regulates the three classes of men from the point of view of Los' emanation (artistic vision). In Plate seven, Los reveals to Blake these three classes in their stations of life. They are named through the particular action which they perform. In Plate eight, the interaction between these three classes is revealed in

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greater complexity and detail. Through this interaction, space and time are created and are shown in their respective forms. The progress through their forms shows their limitations. Satan is given "the Harrow of the Almighty." "His future course," announces the station of Palamabron "thro' darkness and despair of eternal death." However, Los corrects Satan's announcement, and offers Palamabron a station of life where he is able to work for his artistic attainment. Satan in his station gives rise to the Seven Deadly Sins and descends further into the world of "deeper Ulro". Los, as he emanates through Enitharmon, recognizes Satan confronted with the world of Urizen. He finds him busy in his captivating activity of darkening horrors. Since Blake is in a position to see through Urizen's world with Los' state of mind, he can perceive through the space represented by Enitharmon. In this space Blake experiences a woman's sexuality to the extent of total release sublime vision. "It shrinks the organs/Of life till they become Finite and itself seems Infinite". While Satan keeps "vibrating the sexual immensity," Blakes emanates to its infinite vision. Los further laments Satan's captivating activity of dividing the nations. From each of Satan's actions, Los keeps hiding Enitharmon so that she is constantly maintained a liberal force of redeeming the sensual vision of the laboring artists. In contrast, Satan's finite space is devoid of sexual liberation, and thus becomes only a female will called Leutha.

Ah me ! the wretched Leutha !
This to prevent, entering the doors of Satans brain night after night
Like sweet perfumes I stupified the masculine perceptions
And kept only the feminine awake, hence rose his soft
Delusory love to Palamabron : admiration join'd with envy
Cupidity unconquerable ! my fault, when at noon of day
The Horses of Palamabron call'd for rest and pleasant death :
I sprang out of the breast of Satan, over the Harrow beaming

Thus masculine perceptions and "cupidity unconquerable" become limitations which Satan is unable to overcome. Satan's world is therefore forever closed within the space of the female will. Its limitations continually make him fall into unconquerable limits. Thus, death, sleep, Cambridge and Oxford become special prisons, places of "Thought/ Intricate labourings of Times and Spaces unknown." Satan, then, is eternally caught in the folds of the female will of Leutha.

Blake finally descends into his folds with the sublime state of

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Enitharmon. While laboring through Satan's spatial limits, Blake comes out with artistic creations of each of them : "Italy, Greece, and Egypt/ To Tartary & Hindostan & China & to Great America." He is able to create, as he relieves himself from them, unlike Satan, since he originally descends with Albion's state of mind, a state which is eternally perfect, called the Human Form Divine. Descending with Albion's artistic strength, "shaking the foundations of earth," Blake is able to descend into Milton's bosom, eternally tormented with Satan's labyrinthine limits of things and places. Since Blake needs to emanate through Milton with the labors of Los, he becomes obliged to fall into deeper limits governed by Homer and his gods. Confronted with Albion's dynamic strength in Blake, Satan acknowledges the authority of his self-hood which he implanted in Milton the poet in the form of False Tongue. "I in my Selfhood am that Satan : I am that Evil One !/He is my Spectre ! in my obedience to loose him from my Hells/To claim the Hells, my Furnaces, I go to Eternal Death" (Plate fourteen). Like Milton, Satan goes to eternal death. His shadow, reaching up to "hermaphroditic : male & female/In one wonderful body," indicates his repenting mind of "tewenty-seven-fold/Reached to the depths of... Hell, & thence to Albions land :/Which is this earth of vegetation on which now I write." In the company of angels, Blake weeps over his repentance, thus participating in and transcending through the world of Urizen, Satan, and Milton. He finds himself opening into the poetic vision of the song of the bard.

In Plate fifteen Blake reaches the stage of figural fulfilment of the song of the bard through his descent and ascent via characters and events. Plate sixteen shows how the vortex of the bardic song has transcended the "Selfhood of deceived and false forgiveness". Blake, in experiencing the fulfilment of this poetic vortex, annihilates the spatial and temporal limits of selfhood and comes to the state of Orphic silence.

In Plate seventeen Milton discovers himself caught in the six folds of the female will. He realizes in the light of Blake's prophetic vision how he could have improved upon his sensual vision. Failing to have done so, he finds himself constantly wandering in the mundane shell.

> It is a cavernous Earth
> Of labyrinthine intricacy, twenty-seven folds of opakeness
> And finishes where the lark mounts; here Milton journeyed
> In that Region call'd Midian, among the Rocks of Horeb(.)

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For travellers from Eternity, pass outward to Satan's seat,
But travellers to Eternity, pass inward to Golgonooza.

In his wanderings, Milton notes prophetic travellers passing to and fro from Eternity to the Mundane Shell to Golgonooza. In Plate eighteen "the Shadowy Female of Milton" laments in "articulate howlings." This time, confronting Urizen directly, Milton knows his true state of mind. In the meeting of opposites, Blake the poet experiences the Orphic silence in the sublime astonishment of seeing Milton having recognized his state of mind : "Silent they met, and silent strove among the Streams of Arron." The union with Urizen enables Milton to descend into his selfhood and confront the four universes of the mundane egg. In his descent, he meets life and death in the names of Rahab and Tirzah. These forms entice Milton with their deceptive material of the natural world and history. Within the limits of life and death, Milton is confined to work with the natural religions, his unregenerative Christianity being one of them, as against one religion of Man, prevailing in Golgonooza. Further confined within his limits, Milton realizes the consequences of the False Tongue of poetry :

O how can I with my gross tongue that cleaveth to the dust,
Tell of the Four-fold Man, in starry numbers fitly orderd
Or how can I with my cold hand of clay ! But thou O Lord
Do with me as thou wilt ! for I am nothing, and vanity.
If thou chuse to elect a worm, it shall remove the mountains.

Along with Milton, but beyond him, Blake experiences the "awful precipitate descent," as he works through the vegetable world towards Eden. In Eden he resumes with the work of Ololon. United with Ololon, Blake is able to see "the cloud Milton stretching over Europe." He watches Milton going to eternal death, along with the Urizenic versification of Biblical abstractions.

In Plate twenty-two the reader confirms Blake's prophetic vision through the emanation of Ololon. Here he transcends Los' labors. "And I became One Man with him arising in my strength :/Twas too late now to recede. Los had entered into my soul :/His terrors now posses'd me whole ! force in fury strength." Blake's act of becoming One with Man indicates his sublime strength of self-preservation. This sublime strength carries all through Los' labors. Self-preservation then involves the constant act of recreating the poetic self in creating the language of poetry. Blake's union with Ololon demonstrates rather retrospectively

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how the poetic act works through the material world and its abstracting illusions. Referring to Plate twenty-two, Susan Fox points out :

> Here the full complication of the poem's simultaneity becomes evident : Milton descended to find Ololon, who descends after him to follow him. They were both in eternity, but they could not be united until they parted and met in France. Milton recognizes this first; Ololon's recognition is a reflection of his, and comes in an instant; or a fraction of an instant. Later, yet still in the same "pulsation of an artery". With her recognition the Providence began. (I, 21-24)[18]

In the following plates, the poem's simultaneity achieved in Plate twenty-two is maintained throughout, as Blake's vision is maintained against the fears of the natural power of archetypal cycles of history. "And every Natural Effect has a Spiritual Cause, and Not/A Natural : for a Natural Cause only seems, it is a Delusion/of Ulro : & a ratio of the perishing Vegetable Memory." Thus the poet is seen in the natural world as a traveller of the Orphic journey, since ". . . every Generated Body in its inward form,/Is a garden of delight & a building of magnificence,/Built by the Sons of Los in Bowlahoola & Allamanda." The traveller goes through the states of innocence and experience by resuming Los' labors, which enables him "to forge the passions into the holy forms of thought." Further, he is able to forge time and space into pristine forms of particulars :

> But others of the Sons of Los build Mo ments & Minutes & Hours
> And Days & Months & Years & Ages & Periods : wondrous buildings
>
> And every Moment has a Couch of gold for soft repose.
>
> (A Moment equals a pulsation of the artery) (Plate 28, page 125)

Each of the moments the poet experiences is like Wordsworth's "spot of time," is a moment equal to "a pulsation of the artery." Each of these moments, then, is translucent with a particular form of Man's experience of earth and heaven, body and mind. For, all these moments in the progressive order of experience make a period in which the "Poet's word is done : and all the Great/Events of Time start forth & are conceived in such a Period." The culminating moment in this period is the same moment which T. S. Eliot reached in "Four Quartets" at the intersection of time and eternity. However, Harold

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Fisch points out that Blake "expresses it in a richer, more pictorial manner than Eliot does, but the implication is the same :"[19] for,

> . . . every Space larger than a red Globule of Mans blood,
> Is visionary : and is created by the Hammer of Los
> And every Space smaller than a Globule of Mans blood, opens
> Into Eternity of which this vegetable Earth is but a shadow :
> The red Globule is the unwearied Sun by Los created
> To measure Time and Space to mortal Men.

Since every space is "a Globule of Mans blood," it opens into eternity through the poetic form which the poet creates through the language. In achieving each of these forms, the poet brings each of the spaces of the pulsation of artery into the translucent figura of historical reality. As Orpheus rests in the silence of nature (cave), so the poetic form achieves the silence of Blake's poet in *Milton*.

The poetic experience of Book One offers a vehicle to experience the world of Purgatory depicted in Book Two. Blake resumes Ololon's vision and descends into Milton again to shake off the vestiges of selfhood. Again, with the paradoxical working of the centrifugal and centripedal forces of Golgonooza, Blake confronts the unresolved contraries inherent in Milton. Book Two opens with the place "where Contrarieties are equally True." Blake calls this place a state of Beulah in which Milton, unable to resolve the contraries, fails to achieve a form of visionary truth. As Ololon descends here, Milton discovers this inability to resolve the Contrarieties. Thus he laments the unresolved historical reality :

> And all Nations wept in affliction Family by Family
> Germany wept towards France & Italy : England wept & trembled
> Towards America : India rose up from his golden bed :
> As one awakend in the night : they saw the Lord coming
> In the Clouds of Ololon with Power & Great Glory !

Milton becomes part of this unresolved historicity. All he can do is listen and visualize what Blake the poet sends and shows him. Blake sings to Milton with an immortal state *of nightingale* song. The nightingale here represents nature's glass in action, since Milton "listens silent."

In Plate thirty-two, Milton watches on the "couch of death," states of thirty-seven churches among the inter-action of the various guises

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of Adam and Satan. In watching this scene, he learns his own eternal annihilation of selfhood. In Plate thirty-three, the divine voice of poetry reminds Milton how he denied his love for his jealous art of Urizenic authority of priesthoon in versifying the Bible rather than opening its poetic form to the audience. This voice also reminds him of how he ignored the six-fold female shade, and how he extracted himself into the multifolds of female will. In Plate thirty-four, the voice of the song reveals Milton why he is captivated within the limits of Or-Ulro. Now he understands, too late of course, that these limits are the gates which are opened only by the "wondrous imagination" of the poet. This voice further shows him in detail the consequences of the Satanic curse. Again, the voice of a song indicates to Milton that he cannot behold along with Satan's followers the sight of Golgonooza :

> For Golgonooza cannot be seen till having passed the Polypus
> It is viewed on all sides round by a Four-fold Vision
> Or till you become Mortal & Vegetable in Sexuality
> Then you behold its mighty Spires & Domes of ivory & gold

The poetic voice further speaks to him through the voice of a lark who is working for Los and guards the gate of his state. Ololon descends into her garden from where she can see "Milton with astonishment and in him beheld/ . . . Church of Beulah." She hears him voicing to Satan :

> . . . I come to Self Annihilation
> Such are the Laws of Eternity that each shall mutually
> Annihilate himself for others good, as I for thee ( )

Satan, astonished and crestfallen, reveals his dominion of the mundane shell to Milton :

> His left Scotland; his bosom girt with gold involves
> York, Edinburgh, Durham & Carlisle & on the front
> Bath, Oxford, Cambridge Norwich : his right elbow
> Leans on the Rocks of Erins Land, Ireland ancient nation (.)

The daughters of Albion sleep in this dominion, since they cannot transcend Satanic limits. In Plate forty Milton meets Ololon. In this meeting of opposites, Blake listens to Ololon, announcing Milton's self-annihilation. Ololon tells Milton how to discover the secret of

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a poet :

Obey thou the Words of the Inspired Man
All that can be annihilated must be annihilated . . .
The Negation must be destroyed to redeem the Contraries
The Negation is the Spectre; the Reasoning Power in Man
This is a false Body : an Incrustation over my Immortal
Spirit : a Selfhood, which must be put off & annihilated alway
To cleanse the Face of my Spirit by Self—examination.

In Plate forty-one, Ololon announces the casting of the "Rational Demonstration by Faith," "the rotten rags of Memory by Inspiration/ To cast off Bacon, Locke, & Newton from Albions covering/To take off his filthy garments, & clothe him with Imagination/To cast aside from Poetry, all that is not inspiration." In Plate forty-two the voice of the lark thrills in Felphams Vale, where Blake lives and merges with it. He watches here "Rintrah and Palamabron view the Human Harvest beneath/Their Wine-presses . . ." In Plate forty-three Blake joins with the lark to sing the song of the "Human Form Divine" to posterity.

Critics such as Bloom and Frye identify Felphams Vale with the facts of Blake's biographical history. But their research of Blake's biography, only to understand his poetry, amounts to anthropological inquiry rather than an experience of the poem. As pointed out earlier, to reduce the poem to a myth of Christian Purgatory, or to make it a study of the theodicy of the Book of Job, as Bloom points out, is to read the poem in a Urizenic fashion.[20] This is not to deny that Blake does not go through the history behind him. The history, however, provides him with a figura to work with. Its schematic empiricism is annihilated to achieve a fulfilment through the creation of poetic vision without prejudice to its concrete forms. As Harold Fisch says, ' Los is the god of history, but he is also paradoxically the god of poetic inspiration which in timeless moments renders all history nugatory". Further, through Los' artistic labors, natural history is constantly hammered to reveal the forms of Golgonooza within the closed form of the language. In fact, the form of Golgonooza in itself represents the closed form of the language. In experiencing the forms of Golgonooza, Blake the poet unites with each of them, until he himself merges with its total form. Thus as Blake descends into various situations of the characters, he unites with them, and ascends through the peotic release of their time and

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place. Thus Blake's poetic ascent is created in the constantly emerging form of the poetic monologue. As Fisch points out :

> There is really no dialogue, but rather a thrilling and continuing monologue. Los, Blake, Milton, Jesus, Albion and Ololon all blend and fuse. There is no external communion in which the tension of real dialogue exists : Blake's early prophetic books, especially the *French Revolution* contain a measurable degree of dramatic confrontation, manifested in character, episode and dramatic dialogue, but the spoken word as found in the later poem, emerges more and as all-embracing lyrical voice. We do not have Ololon addressing Milton; we have a kind of antiphonal lyrical utterance, a certain rhetoric culminating in a mystical union of two characters. What we finally have is the abolition of separateness, God and Man not-standing confronting one another as in Milton's poetry, as in Book of Job, but an indistinguishable God-Man incantation which may be termed Jesus, Los, or Albion.[21]

What Fisch calls the mystical union is in our context the Orphic union or, Laugbaum's words, the meeting of opposites. 'In each of the major meeting points of the opposites, the poet experiences the silence of the Orphic cycle, which goes on repeating itself until the totality of the Human Form Divine is achieved.

From the point of view of language, the characters play the same role as adjectives play in Blake's poetry. As Dr. Gleckner points out, the adjectives are the source of poetic strength in Blake's lines.[22] The adjectives, like the characters, breath into the nouns the full potential of action they contain. Considering an example to this effect :

> Silent Milton stood before
> The Darkened Urizen; as the Sculptor silent stands before
> His forming image; he walks around it with patient labouring.

The adjectives of the phrases, "Silent Milton," "Sculptor silent," "patient labouring," meet with the nouns and verbs in the arena of actions. The figures of the adjectives referring to silence in its achieved forms of "Milton and sculptor" maintain a progressive immediacy. Further, the states of mind achieved in the characters and events become adjectival figures for the forthcoming abstracting situations.

Thus the acting simultaneity in the creation of the language in *Milton* maintains the continuity of the Orphic structure. The Orphic myth becomes the method of poetry, as the historical figura becomes its fulfilment in the hands of poets. Orpheus, let us say then, is only

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appropriate figura of poetry. It is certainly not a myth when seen in the light of poetic method, progressing from one figure to another. As Elizabeth Sewell maintains, the Orphic myth is not subject to interpretation by myth Orpheus "is himself, an interpretation, the specific instrument of poet's researches."[22] Blake moves like Orpheus in and through Milton as a subject matter or a historical figura. "The Orphian exploration," says Elizabeth Sewell,

> is to take the form of recapitulation of the Orphic journey, and by its own power to discover an interpret nature. The goal is not merely self-discovery. However, the Orphian insight is called "the undaunted lover", and so by a lovely shift of figure, Eurydice and truth become the same, to be sought by the power of love and poetry in an endeavour perpetually renewed, never wholly completed, and depending the whole time on a necessary blind faith.[23]

Blake reveals in his poem *Milton* how the latter could not really achieve the truth even through the Bible, since he was not an undaunted lover of truth, but a self-assumed versifier of abstract ideas. To Blake, the Bible remained a blank page to Milton, since he failed to descend himself into the concrete body of its truth. Blake's poet shows in his descent into Milton, that the latter, in being merely an imitator, missed the truth that an undaunted lover, such as a poet in the true sense of the term, could discover, Blake's Orphic journey, indeed, intimates to his serious reader that the form of poetry is a closed one, and it opens only to a poet or a reader who resumes with truth's undaunted lover, and not to a historian of ideas like Milton. As George Steiner points out :

> The fortunes of Orpheus as we follow them in Pindar and Ovid, in Spencer, Rilke, and Cocteau, are almost synonymous with the nature and function of poetry. Because he is part Orpheus, the poet in the western literature is architect of myth, magician over savagery, and pilgrim to death.[24]

Thus, poems as forms rest in the silence of the natural world of men and their history, as Orpheus' head rests in the silence of Nature's bosom—the cave guarded by Apollo. Elizabeth Sewell's argument makes this point, considering the history of literature as the continuing body of Orpheus in its quest to reach the silence of his head stilled in the lyre at the constellation; where one poet leaves, the next takes

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forward. In doing so, he constantly descends himself deeper than the one preceding him, into nature, into natural history, into the natural body of emotions, so that, while he is confronted with the artistic labour of language, he strives to achieve a totality of Nature and its Creator, natural history in the higher form of poetry, body in the highest form of mind—The Human Form Divine, Blake's *Milton* incarnates the poetic symbol of this ever recreating process of poetry; it is a poem, in Laugbaum's sense, which visualises this process in the meeting of opposites in Nature, Man and History. It is a poem in which the imaginative action "plays like fire and palpitates like blood upon every line, as the lips of caressing flame and the tongues of cleaving light in which the text is set fold and flash about the margins."[25]

FOOT-NOTES

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5. W. B. Yeats, *A Vision*, (New York : Collier Books, Third Printing, 1969), pp. 72, 73.
6. Geoffrey Hartman, *The Unmediated Vision*, (New York : Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966), p. 156.

6A. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

7. *Ibid.*, 168.
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11. Murray Krieger, *A Window To Criticism : Shakepeare's Sonnets And Modern Poetics* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 59.
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13. Elizabeth Sewell, *The Structure Of Poetry*, (Miami : University Of Miami Press),
14. Wallace Stevens, "A Primitive Like an Orb" in : *Poems By Wallace Stevens* ed., Samuel French Morse, (New York : Vintage Books).
15. Robert Laugbaum, *The Poetry of Experience*, (New York : W. W. Norton and Company, 1957) p. 70.
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17. Samuel H. Monk, *The Sublime*, (Ann Arbor : The University Of Michigan Press, 1962), p. 93.
18. Susan Fox, "The Structure Of the Moment : Parallelism In Two Books Of Blake's Milton" in *Blake Studies*, Vol. II, No. 1, Okolohoma : University of Tulsa, 1968), p. 24.
19. Harold Fisch, "Miltonic Moment" in *Essays For Fostor Damon* ed. Alvin H. Rosenfield, (Providence : Brown University, 1969), p. 51, 52.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
22. Elizabeth Sewell, *The Orphic Voice*, p. 335.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 323.
24. George Steiner, *Language & Science : Essays On Language, Literature And The Inhuman*, (New York : Athenum, 1972), p. 42.
25. Algernon Charles Swinburne, *William Blake : A Critical Essay*, ed. Hugh J. Luke, (Lincoln : University Nebraska Press, 1970) p. 265.

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GOETHE'S BILDUNGSROMAN AND ITS IMPLICATIONS IN ARNOLD BENNETTS' EPISTEMOLOGICAL REALISM*

Kishori Lal

Arnold Bennett is not as widely known in Germany as in France and America. If another kind of focus and comparison are needed, I feel that he should be studied in the backdrop of German *Bildungsroman*, in spite of the circumscribed geographical and national boundaries, environments, literary tastes and fashions. There is, in fact, no conclusive evidence of any direct influence of Goethe's works on Bennett (as far as I understand, never mentioned by Bennett scholars, biographers or acknowledged by Bennett in his letters, reviews, or his autobiographical *The Truth About the Author*, (1903). Bennett did not have the knowledge of German language so he could not have read Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795-96). Thomas Carlyle's translation of 1824 was published by Everyman Library in 1912; by that time Bennett had completed his *Clayhanger* (1910). English and German histories of the novel and criticism, too, do not show any trace of Bennett's acquaintance with Goethe's work.

I shall try argue in this paper that there is to be found a cluster of ideas Goethe propounded in *Wilhelm Meister* as *Bildungsroman* that re-appear in Bennett's serious novels, especially *Clayhanger* trilogy (1910-16). I shall show that Wilhelm's 'Bildung' becomes the central aim in Edwin Clayhanger's epistemology of learning, of 'what life is'. Several episodes from *Wilhelm Meister* are excluded in passing for there are no parallel episodes in *Clayhanger* and vice versa. I do not intend to say that Arnold Bennett tried to write a 'Bildungsroman', and succeeded or failed. After all, in general, his conclusions will also differ from Goethe's; irreducibly so, and not merely because his (Goethe's) time, idealistic social conditions, literary resources, personal ambitions and experiences combined to make Wilhelm's education,

*The present study is confined to *Wilhelm Meister* and *Clayhanger* trilogy. I wish to acknowledge my grateful debt to Dr. Pramod Talgeri, Professor of German and Dean of School of Foreign Languages, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, for his suggestion that such a comparative study is possible and fruitful.

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growth and maturity as the central theme. But this is true of Arnold Bennett, too, he was involuntarily caught up in the prevailing philistine conventions and the traditionally defined society of the Five Towns of Staffordshire. In the transitional stage his protagonist is faced with the epistemological crisis of knowing 'what life is'. Edwin's knowledge, development, learning and realization through individual experience are allied to Wilhelm's 'Bildung'. The analogies in the lives of the two novelists and those of the heroes in the novels under consideration are of great importance and the similitude in the theme of maturity is extremely striking. I take it for given that readers are unfamiliar with such a relation between Goethe and Bennett whose novels offer abundant similarities. Both the heroes of the novels under consideration show their growth, maturity, intelligence, and understanding of the world, people, places and their own lives on the similar lines; in Goethe all this is unfolded as Wilhelm's 'Bildung' and in Bennett it is revealed as the epistemology of Edwin's knowledge and understanding of 'What life is'.

I

One of the most helpful of realist criteria that can be envisaged to analyse Bennett's work is the philosophical principle of ontology[1]. Bennett's juxtaposition of real names of the Five Towns (fictionalized in the novels) of Staffordshire district, its history, scenes, landscapes, provincial environment, people and their lives provides us with a referential context. It is by no means an idealized vision of the past, but a charting of the identity of his men and women by their orientation with the chronicle of the existing world. The ontology of the knowable world of the Five Towns is of great value here. It gives the regional world-in-itself, thing-in-itself, men and women being-in-the-world, and life as it is in a particular period in the English history. This corresponds to Erich Auerbach's representation of reality as *Mimesis*. Bennett's view as an ontological realist is that the more his men and women know about the past and present, places, events and people through their movement, contacts and experiences, the better are their chances of learning about themselves. It is for this reason that the geography of the Five Towns is rendered with confidence and well-researched, concrete details which, in turn, give his people firm footing in pursuit of knowledge.

Bennett's serious novels are elaborate studies in human knowledge and understanding of "What Life Is.[2]" Such a concern can adequately

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be equated with Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* where he sets the theory of knowledge which is called epistemology.[3] Locke's systematic investigation rests on truth and certainty of knowledge, and grounds of belief. It is mainly a philosophical enquiry, which has come to be known and applied as theory of knowledge or epistemology in literary works as well. Locke's concern is with the human mind and will; whereas Bennett's is empirical knowledge gained through individual experiences. Bennett makes his beginning by a portrayal of historical world and existing regional reality which evince a strong sense of ontological realism, for his men and women come to understand the contemporary world and its limitations.

Epistemologically, Bennett grants his protagonists, in their limited horizons, freedom enough to open up new vistas for themselves. They have all the characteristics of epistemology : concentration on a narrowly limited world of the Five Towns, a provincial world, peopled with potters, weavers, shopkeepers, drapers, misers and domestic servants, ignorant of a wider world. In this context, another notion of considerable benefit (borrowed from Northrop Frye) is that of "blocking" figures[4] and situations in Bennett's novels. The first 'block' is the 'old order' or 'old generation', with its inherent philistinism, complacency, narrowmindedness, hypocrisy, and unresponsiveness to taste, beauty, romance, change and experience. In all the serious novels of Bennett his young men and women, such as, Anna, Sophia, Edwin, Hilda, to mention a few, are compelled to move in the traditional groove. In the family the avarice or affectation of father or mother blocks or thwarts the aspirations of children. But an empirical thrust, or an instinct for romance, self-help and experienced sets them inevitably on a path of learning and realization of 'What life is'. Such a concern with the protagonist's growth, maturity, development, education and realization is known as "Bildung" in Goethe. Bennett's dialectic between ontological and epistemological views gives rise to a stance which is akin to Goethe's *Bildungsroman*.

II

Bildungsroman is a combination of German *Bildung* ('formation' or 'development') and French *roman* ('novel'). Its synonym *Erziehungsroman*, is also a combination of *Erziehung*(which means 'upbringing') and *roman*. There is no equivalent term in English which adequately conveys the meaning of 'Bildung'. Some critics have pointed out its equivalents as "culture" and "education" of an individual in association with

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society. The interaction between the two makes reality "actual and concrete".[5] *Bildungsroman* "is the representation of an arduous journey out of inwardness into social activity, out of subjectivity into objectivity".[6] There are many novels that deal with the natural growth, development and formation of a personality by carrying stage by stage into maturity. Some famous examples are : Dickens's *David Copperfield*, Jane Austen's *Emma*, Samuel Butler's *The Way of All Flesh*, Somerset Maugham's *Of Human Bondage*, Flaubert's *L' Education Sentimentale*, Meredith's *The Adventures of Harry Richmond*, Joyce's *A Portrat of the Artist as a Young Man*. All these 'formation novels', 'education novels' or 'initiation novels' describe the youthful development of the protagonist. With obvious limitations, the concept of 'Bildung' as expounded by Goethe and put to an intelligent use by other German novelists, has many characteristics common with the English picaresque novel, 'novel of manners', 'teach and delight', 'apprenticeship' and autobiographical novels. It may not be useful to call these novels *Bildungsroman*, but they do have the epistemological streak traceable in German concept. According to W. H. Bruford,

> In a typical 'Bildungsroman' we are shown the development of an intelligent and open-minded young man in a complex, modern society without generally accepted values; he gradually comes to decide, through the influence of friends, teachers and chance acquaintances as well as the ripening of his own intellectual and perhaps artistic capacities and interests as his experience in these fields grows, what is best in life for him and how he intends to pursue it. We see him *learning* to deal with the common problems of personal and social relationsnips, acquiring a point of view in practical matters and above all . . . a general philosophy of life, or perhaps one after another. Adventurous episodes may be introduced by the author to maintain interest, but in general there is enough variety if the hero meets well contrasted friends in different social milieux, and of course falls in love with more than one kind of girl, some appealing to his senses and some to his mind. The novel usually ends when he has attained some degree of maturity, and what he does with his life later is not revealed to us. There is often a large autobiographical element in such novels, so the favourite hero is a writer or artist, not a man of action.[7]

The term has overstones of ontology and epistemology, plus some elements of the picaresque novel. The primary association of this term with the 'picarsque', however, renders it less than satisfactory as a

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translation of German origin. Nevertheless, the realist innovations of Goethe's *Bildungsroman* and Bennett's epistemology are clearly traceable to antecedents within the picaresque tradition—a common source of influence available to both the authors. An intermediate of an arduous journey motif of the protagonist, coming in contact with various people in various places, facing thrusts of social life, stopping, faltering, suffering all sorts of hardships, adding to knowledge, experience, maturity and finally meeting the love and settling in life, are the possible ideas that bind 'ontology', 'epistemology', 'picaresque' and the 'Bildungsroman' in one example. In a word, we can trace the concept of knowledge or learning in all these types. Goethe and Bennett used these motifs with admirable intelligence and certain degree of sophistication : in them the motif of acquiring knowledge undergoes a much greater shift—from the picaresque view—in empirical and self-conscious sense of learning. They accord greater respect to their protagonists, whom they follow in their encounters in the world till they have matured and learnt through their own experiences. They then initiate the learning-oriented activities. In this respect there is a glaring distinction between the 'Bildung' protagonist and the 'picaro' who seeks adventures on the highways and in the inns of his country, though in various places he *may* also come in contact with good people and with his own life. The hero commonly begins as a naive and good-natured fellow, but soon drawn into a world of opportunists and scoundrels becomes as bad or almost as bad as the rest in order to survive. Goethe's Wilhelm and Bennett's Edwin start their adventures as naive young men, come in contact with different people, but do not stoop to vulgar tourism unlike the picaro's journeys. In their case every place adds to their ontological knowledge and each contact and experience makes them *better than* they were before. Both the authors see their learning from the protagonists' point of view rather than from the author's point of view. Wilhelm and Edwin are, therefore, a significant variation of the 'picaro'. Both of them differ from the 'picaro', (of illegitimate, mysterious birth) not only because of their legitimate birth, but also because of their self-conscious education, growing up, maturity and assessment of the world as well as of their own experiences. The picaresque journeyman does not look back to make an assessment of his learning and maturity gained through his encounters and experiences.

III

An understanding of the plot of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* has its implications and value in the analysis of Arnold Bennett's *Clayhanger* trilogy. At the outset, the plot of *Lehrjahre* has a icaresque

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pattern in sofar as it narrates the journey and various episodes in the life of the protagonist. Such as it is, a rather summary account may be given. Wilhelm Meister, the son of a merchant, is deeply in love with Mariane, an actress. He proceeds on a business trip despite the fact that he believes that Mariane is expecting a child by him. He comes across Werner and another traveller actor, Melina. He is disappointed when he finds that Mariane had never told him of her former association with a merchant called Norberg. He stops meeting her and continues his journey, In his trips he is attracted by the actress Philine. On the high-way he is attacked by robbers. He has several arguments and quarrels with other actors. A number of women come in Wilhelm's life and play a great romantic role — Mariane, Philine, the countess, Mignon, Aurelie, and Therese, to whom he is finally engaged, but she becomes another's wife. It is Natalie who marries him.

Keeping in view all this one might assume that Wilhelm is a journey-man. However, Goethe's aim is never so simple. Wilhelm acquires a distinct identity as compared to a 'Picaro'. His main concern is with gaining knowledge, first of the world, theatre, art and then learning about his own life through his varied experiences. Such a well-defined aim is lacking in the life of the 'picaro'. According to Werner Kohlschmidt, in *Wilhelm Meister* Goethe touches "a profound psychological problem central to the human meaning".[8] A close scrutiny of *Clayhanger* trilogy reveals that it possesses many points of similarity and undeniably conforms to Goethe's concept of *Bildungsroman*. *Clayhanger* (the title, if hyphenated, clay-hanger) has a dual aspect : it is about a young man who will hang around the clay of the provincial Five Towns; however, as we shall see, *he does not*. To begin with, Edwin is like the insignificant clay which can be moulded in any desired shape. In the novel we see Edwin's gradual evolution : he matures and ripens from a state of naivete resembling that of Wilhelm as he undergoes a series of experiences.

Interestingly, the protagonists of both the novels are the descendants of their creators and the fundamental affinity between Goethe and Bennett is their aim of tracing the process of education and maturity. If Wilhelm's life is a theatre for learning through contacts, discussions, arguments, quarrels, love and experiences, Edwin's is an arena to fight contradictory claims, passions and problems of life and career. Edwin's efforts to shake off strait-jacket existence, philistine inhibitions, societal obligations and parental authority exemplify the transition from a static

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and rather stuffy way of life to a dynamic, experiential and free way of life where he assumes existential responsibilities.

Both the heroes are presented as grown-ups, but passive, ignorant and inexperienced, to begin with. This decides the epistemological limits of their knowledge. Both of them imprisoned in the bourgeois and prejudicial world, aspire for an artistic, aesthetic world of freedom, romance and experience. It is this spirit that drives them on in the path of self-education. Both of them start learning through the contrast between their inner aspirations and outer bearings in the society in which they live. There is a firm hold on the autobiographical element in that Goethe had to wrestle with German idealism as later on Bennett with Victorian Philistinism. Hans Reiss tells us that the prevailing social "restrictions" affected Goethe, who "found himself stultified" by them."[9] In his own time Bennett encountered similar problems of Victorianism, religious hypocrisy, social restrictions, parental authority and personal problems of life and career. Wilhelm and Edwin are subjected, more or less, to similar problems. This autobiographical touch validates the realism of both the novelists.

In their formative years, there is a striking resemblance. When it is decided to put Wilhelm into Herr Werner's counting-house to be trained for commerce, he realizes that his (formal) education by private tutors is incomplete. He says : "My mind turned only the more decisively away from everything that I considered an unworthy occupation. I wanted to devote every effort to the stage and to find there my fortune and happiness".[10] But it is too early for him to make such judgments. Hans Reiss observes that there is "no doubt that he [Wilhelm] is capable neither of judging his own abilities nor appraising the cultural circumstances of his time soundly."[11] For trying conclusions with the world, admittedly, a sound knowledge of the world and of the self is very essential. And this is precisely Edwin's predicament too. Edwin is educated in a 'historic school' of the Five Towns of Staffordshire district. Ironically enough, and better for the present study, Edwin is depicted (ontologically and epistemologically) as an ignoramus :

> He knew, however, nothing of natural history, and in particular of himself, of the mechanism of the body and mind, through which his soul had to express and fulfil itself. Not one word of information about either physiology or psychology had ever been breathed to him, nor had it ever occurred to anyone around him that such

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information was needful. And as no one had tried to explain to him the mysteries which he carried about with him inside that fair skin of his . . . the mysteries by which he was hemmed in, either mystically through religion, or rationally through philosophy . . . . And as for philosophy, he had not the slightest conception of what it meant. He imagined that a philosopher was one who made the best of a job, and he had never heard the word used in other sense . . . . Of physical science he had been taught nothing save a grotesque perversion to the effect that gravity was a force which drew things towards the centre of the earth . . . . Of geology he was perfectly ignorant, though he lived in a district whose whole livelihood depended on the scientific use of geological knowledge.[12]

Epistemologically, Wilhelm and Edwin are situated in well-to-do families, whose grandfathers have earned some reputation. Wilhelm is the son of an established merchant and Edwin's father is an established printer. Both have well-furnished homes and both start taking aesthetic pleasure in artistic things. Wilhelm's enthusiasm for the theatre is given an impetus by his friend Werner. Edwin's ambition to become an architect is kindled by a family friend Shushions. Romantic by temperament, both are impatient with the drabness, crassness, conformity, and artificialities of traditional life, and seek to try their own ideas, to create another sort of world, one which glorifies individualism. Wilhelm rejects the proposal sent to him by his business associate, Werner, for the reorganisation of their firm. Edwin rejects the suggestion of his father to settle down in his printing business—though later on he succumbs to the pressure. Wilhelm thinks that the life of a prosperous merchant has no appeal for him and "that it is only in the theatre that he can complete the 'Bildung' which he desires for himself."[13] As a Bürger (freeman) Wilhelm also comes to realize his limitations but continues with his dominant dream of the theatre. Edwin is sparked with what he calls a "flame", a desire to explore the possibilities of romance, experience, learning, awareness, and "interestingness in existence" (p.30) to change "imperfection into perfection", ignorance into knowledge, complacency into adventure, stupidity into wisdom, convention into experience. This "flame burned with serene and terrible pureness . . . like an altar-fire" (pp. 24-27). He keeps on nagging himself that he "must change. He must turn over a new leaf" (p. 421). He also realizes : "I am on my own, now I have got to face it new, by myself" (p. 22). He keeps on striving hard to free himself from the constraining fetters of religion,

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society, family and authoritariam father. The thwarted ambition makes him realize that architecture is not the only vocation and interest in life. He sets out in the world of practical business—meeting people, visiting places and learning from his contacts, personal relations, observations, discussions, doubts and mistakes. It is quite late in life that he makes an assessment of his initial ignorance, inexperience and shortcomings. 'Bildung', as in the case of Wilhelm, has implications in Edwin's learning through his experiences. Wilhelm becomes aware that he has "to educate himself and find a purpose in life",[14] by means of "self-development through miscellaneous experiences .... In between stands the idea of education".[15]

Edwin's empirical education starts with his movement away from the traditional groove of the Five Towns to London. This marks a point of transition from the ontological to the epistemological view of Edwin's which is entirely natural : the first serves as a starting point from the *world as it is* to a *world in the making*. Bennett covers the epistemology of Edwin's learning in three parts: Edwin as an individual (*in Clayhanger*), Edwin in the eyes of Hilda (*in Hilda Lessways*), and Edwin in an out of love and again with Hilda (in *These Twain*). Correspondingly, in the course of writing *Wilhelm Meister* Goethe indicated a marked shift in his focus : in the *Sendung* Wilhelm's development is depicted from his childhood onward (not included in the present study), while in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* Wilhelm appears as a youngman like Edwin (in *Clayhanger*) and in *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, he appears as a man of the world. Here the emphasis is contrastive : Goethe shifts his aim of 'Bildung' from individual's inner development through his experiences to the development of individual personality in society.[16] But the contrast is also viable, for the central aim of both the authors is to give their heroes a wider exposure right from the point when they are left on the threshold of entry into the world. They cope up with the realities of the outer as well as the inner worlds in a similar fashion. Of course, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the texts; however, what we have is the theme of maturity and understanding of 'what life is', with the help of incidents and experiences in an overlapping manner.

It is Wilhelm's company with travelling actors that brings him in contact with several women, one after the other. Wilhelm's falling in love and parting ways with Mariane is matched by Edwin's falling in love with and separating from Hilda. Wilhelm makes short contacts with Mignon, Aurelie and Therese. His contact with Philine, the actress, who runs off with Friedrich and later on marries him, is an

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interesting one. Wilhelm says : "I loved Philine, but could not help despising her"[17]. The number of infatuations and love-affairs that Wilhelm has (and which match a picaro's life) have some parallels in Edwin's life too. One thing is certain in both : they are basically good, naive and inexperienced, and are at their best when allowed spontaneously to follow the dictates of their feelings. In fact, it is romance with which starts their evolution. Edwin has never seen a female creature before. When he sees Miss Florence for the first time, "ephemeral images of her were continually forming and dissolving before him. He could come to no conclusion" (p.91). It is only when he meets Janet Orgreaves that he starts feeling that he is *living*. "She was the women of the world, and Edwin the raw boy. The harmony and dignity of her movements charmed and intimidated him" (p.170). He finds that her "power of emotional sympathy" is "all-embracing and inexhaustible". This acquaintance gives him extraordinary "courage" and "inspiration" to face "the stress of one immense and complex resolve". To him, it makes "in a very deep and spiritual sense, the biginning of the new life". Now everything looks "marvelous" and "romantic" He says : "I haven't known what life is ! I've been asleep. This is life" (pp.169-74). Their love, however, does not flourish for some reasons, but it does set Edwin on a process of feeling his thoughts and materializing his romantic dreams. When Janet disappears and Hilda comes into his life he pictures her as "more romantic and strange" and tries "in a whisper to be a man of vast experience", "settled views" (p.185) and "authentically grown-up" (p.187). This contact opens "possibilities of being really interested in life" (p.202) and he makes "the beginning of the new life" with the "consciousness of being unusually alive" for a "faithful execution of his resolves for self-perfecting" (pp.256, 268). But, it is only after a brief period for which Hilda enters his life, jilts him for his cold sexuality, disappears, abandoning him to grope with his loneliness. It is after experiencing hardships and "some shocks in his life" that Edwin learns how "blind he has been to the harsh realities of life" (p. 196). Hilda leaves Edwin to his fate and marries George Cannon, a bigamous. Hilda's attraction for and rejection of Edwin is similar to Philine's rejection of Wilhelm and marriage to Friedrich. Both of them fall in love (Wilhelm-Mariane and Edwin-Hilda) blindly, without any knowledge and awareness of real circumstances of their beloveds' lives. This can be attributed to their inexperience, but they do learn when they make significant discoveries about their lives and relationships (Philine-Friedrich, Hilda-George Cannon). Their romance contributes to the 'Bildung' of their

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hearts. They also start rationalizing forces and circumstances which they can neither escape nor control. In both, the spirit of romance and craving for knowledge and experience is followed by an existential propensity and sense of responsibility.

Wilhelm discovers that the man known as Lothario (to whose estate he travels), is the father of Felix, a young boy whom Aurelie looks after. To his dismay he finds that Felix is in fact his own son by Mariane, his first love. Edwin makes a similar discovery. He comes to know that the man known as George Cannon, is the father of a young boy George Edwin, whom Hilda looks after and who is also friendly with Janet. Wilhelm remonstrates with Lothario for his desertion of Aurelie who looks after his (Wilhelm's) son, Felix. But he realizes that it was his mistake to misunderstand Mariane and to have deserted her, knowing full well that she was carrying his child. On the other hand, Edwin remonstrates with George Cannon for the desertion of Hilda, who looks after George Edwin (a name given by Hilda to her son by George Cannon, by suffixing Edwin to perpetuate her old memories). But Edwin also realizes that it is his fault that he didn't respond to Hilda's feelings at the appropriate time. Both of them learn only when something happens, as, for example, it is quite late when Wilhelm comes to know about Mariane's past and her present sufferings; Edwin's case is also similar. Both of them wake up out of their romantic dreams and recognize the limits which real life sets on romance and imagination.

Felix, though supposed to be an illegitimate child for the traditional society, is accepted in the Aristocratic family. When Wilhelm's engagement to Therese breaks (she becomes Lothario's wife after he has deserted Aurelie), he marries Natalie. George Edwin, Hilda's son, is accepted by Edwin, first as his young friend and later on as a son. Edwin finally marries Hilda. By seeing Aurelie's misfortune, Wilhelm becomes sympathetic to her because she is looking after his son. By seeing Hilda's misfortunes and sufferings and hearing his own name attached to her son by some one else (George Cannon), Edwin realizes the importance of her love for him. In both the cases, undoubtedly, we come to know about Wilhelm's and Edwin's development, maturity and understanding. Hans Reiss comments that Wilhelm's acceptance of Natalie "symbolises" that "he has arrived at a point of rest, after much effort and error". He is after his contacts with various women and then his marriage that he "attains a state of mind allowing him to be self-critical'.[18] Edwin's

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acceptance of Hilda is indicative of his maturity, understanding and realization that he has learnt from his grief, loneliness and experience to compromise and make adjustments, assume responsibilities in the house and society. The part played by Hilda (in *Clayhanger* and later on in *These Twain*) in Edwin's life is as significant as the function of Philine's and Mariane's roles in Wilhelm's life. In the beginning, Wilhelm "is a man who enters from 'an empty, indistinct ideal into a practical, active life without losing his power of idealism'. A further direction is intimated, especially since he has reached a point on his path through life where he is able to look back calmly upon past errors. *Not all the characters reach a similar level* [emphasis added]".[19] Bennett subjects Edwin to various complications, of family, love, circumstances and personal inclinations which, in turn, strengthen his sense of reality and values. He is now "one of those who learn quickly, by the acceptance of facts" (p. 295). He is "proud of himself" for he has "fantastically surmised circumstances" (p. 460). He corrects his past mistakes and realizes that he suffered because of his diffidence, ignorance, lack of initiative, knowledge and experience. It is after his discovery of the self that he learns : "*What a fine thing life is!*" (p. 522).

Toward the end of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, we are shown Wilhelm in the company of his son Felix and his wife Natalie. The ending is "the reconciliation of the problematic individual, guided by his lived experience" and "the crowning of a process of education, a maturity attained by struggle and effort'.[20] Wilhelm's wanderings are now over : he is "a reasonably cultivated person" and in "acceptance of a limited task in civil society".[21] Werner Kohlschmidt concludes that Wilhelm "progresses from the crisis of everyday life to the classical crisis of genius, subjectivity and the problem of harmonious development, and thence to the recognition of the objective forces of education represented by his responsibility towards Felix . . . Only through these forms of recognition, of self-abnegation, does he achieve the maturity of personality which makes him worthy of Natalie's love".[22] He is now 'larger, stronger, straighter, more cultivated and more agreeable in his demeanour'. His 'Bildung' is manifested in his "development from illusion to clarity of vision".[23] Bennett's trilogy ends with Edwin's acceptance of George Edwin and Hilda without dodging difficulties. Margaret Drabble, Bennett's biographer, concludes that *These Twain* "is a conjunction of these two unlikely people, and of their discovery of one another in the state of marriage.

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They donot, of course, ever manage to discover or understand each other : they remain apart, baffled, flung emotionally from row to reconciliation to row again, in a perpetual battle". Edwin makes every "attempt to come to terms with an even grimmer reality",[24] but Hilda is "incapable of learning from experience".[25] They continue suffering marital conflict, agony from friction and opposition of wills even though Edwin braces "himself to the burdon of life" (*Clayhanger*, p. 528) and admits that "marriage must be a mutual accommodation" (*These Twain*, p. 402). Individually, Edwin continues adapting himself step by step to the demands of changing circumstances and env ronment. At every step he realizes that he has "advanced a stage" and "acquired new wisdom and new powers and that no danger in the future could equal the danger that was past. 'I know now where I am' " (*Clayhanger*, p. 141). But it has "taken him years to discover where he was".

> And then there flashed into his mind, complete, the great discovery of all his career. It was banal; it was commonplace; it was what everyone knew. Yet it was the great discovery of all his career. If Hilda had not been unjust in the assertion of her own individuality there could be no merit in yielding to her. To yield to a just claim was not meritorious, though to withstand it would be wicked. He was objecting to injustice, as a child objects to rain on a holiday. Injustice was a tremendous actuality ! It had to be faced and accepted. (He himself was unjust. At any rate he intellectually conceived that he must be unjust though honestly he could remember no instance of injustice on his part). To reconcile onself to injustice was the master achievement. He had read it; he had been aware of it, but he had never really felt it till that moment....He was awed, thrilled by the realization. He longed ardently to put it to test. He did put it to the test... in yielding it seemed to him that he was victorious (*Clayhanger*, pp. 414-15).

Consequently, what Edwin learns is that there are no solutions to the prevailing religious, social, domestic and individual problems, which he can only endure. He yields to his father's decision and Hilda's injustice. A breach "definitely existed between Edwin and herself and the idea of either maintaining it or ending it on foreign ground was inconceivable" (*These Twain*, p. 222). He also realizes that he must come to know himself, for only in that way can he live with the unresolved and the paradoxical problems of life. All he learns from his inescapable involvement in the society is that he is a *living* and *thinking* being. In

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affirming his faith in his freedom, choices and decisions he shows courage of conviction, sense of responsibility and spirit of accommodation. Bennett's irony is evident in the fact that Edwin understands "what 'Living' chiefly is",[26] after having lived a considerable part of life. In the modernists's terminology, Edwin "is thrown-into-world'—meaninglessly, unfathomably . . . The only 'development' . . . is the gradual revelation of the human condition."[27] It is in this sense that *Clayhanger* trilogy acquires a deeper, wider, human content and abiding interest with a broader educative function based on individual experiences, which critics[28] have failed to notice.

IV

We can now recapitulate the conclusion to which this close scrutiny has led. To begin with, both the heroes have a quest; therefore, from the start, the two novels become *Bildungsroman* of the mind. But, we may ask, do the circumstances really permit them to realize their dreams or are they really sufficiently powerful to materialize their aspirations? Necessarily not. They start developing the sense of reality by making mistakes because they are in the process of learning. Their intellectual development becomes natural and epistemological : in the different stages of their evolution there is a common bond of growth, maturity and learning through trials, errors, mistaken hopes, doubts, failures, gropings and persistent endeavours, particularly in matters of romance, marriage, choices, decisions and adjustments in life. In the beginning, in their romantic enthusiasm they do not stop to reason out their initial steps. "In his youthful zeal" Wilhelm "overestimates his own powers, and underestimates the difficulties facing him." However, with the passage of time he finds a philosophy and purpose in life, as does Edwin Clayhanger. Wilhelm learns that it "is the privilege of youth to abandon its mistaken views in order to strengthen its sense of reality". In this sense, as Goethe acknowledged in a letter to Schiller that he preferred to call the novel *Wilhelm Schüller* (Wilhelm Pupil)."[29] His maturity lies in his "ability to adjust himself, to be at peace with the world in which he lives, means that he does not feel misunderstood".[30] His apprenticeship involves a continuing process of translation of his social contactsin to individual experiences. Bennett, on the other hand, places Edwin on a disadvantaged position and makes things harder for him, because the school education does not groom Edwin for the trials and challenges that await him. In the beginning, Edwin, an average and inexperienced young man starts from a com-

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placent level, seeks his career, romance, fortune and discovers not only the world without but the world within. Maturity, with Edwin, is a "slow—growing and penetrating sentiment that comes only with a sense of the continuity of lives encountered at recurring periods over a longer course of years". What is really important and significant in Edwin's education is his realization that "life is much more various, bewildering and fulfiling than any one person can know".[31]

By the time we come to the last pages of the novels we find that Wilhelm and Edwin are sufficiently aware of what they are capable of doing and what is beyond their control. We see that Wilhelm of *Sendung* (1775) is much more a different man in *Lehrjahre* (1795) as Edwin is in *Hilda Lessways* (1911) and *These Twain* (1916) than in *Clayhanger* (1910). Wilhelm-Mariane, Wilhelm—Natalie and Edwin-Hilda relationships undergo a substantial change after their lived experiences. It is their perpetual grappling with the existing conditions and circumstances that widens their limited intelligence and modifies their sensibilities. Life is a mystery : both of them learn only when it gradually and painfully reveals the inherent frustration. Both of them seem to learn one thing from their long experiences : realization of "all the shortcomings of existence, will to face them like a man, grimly, sourly, in a sturdy despair". Individually, they seem to admit: "Of course I'm angry : who would not be ? Of course I'm disappointed. Did I expect this twenty years ago ? . . . But we don't, so there you are ! I'm bound to worry !"[32] And that is 'what life is'. Bennett's aim in the *Clayhanger* trilogy is not simply to reveal what Edwin "witnesses" and what "stances he takes", because what Edwin "sees is what he is; what he determines in part what he sees and how he sees it".[33] Bennett goes a step further by the subtle use of these words—'life', 'experience', 'feeling', 'desire', 'romance', 'sentiment', 'initiative', 'risk', 'boldness', 'apprehension', 'anticipation', 'decision', 'trial', 'error', 'gain', 'loss', 'judgement', 'success', 'failure', 'understanding', 'compromise', 'realization', 'youth', 'age', 'death', etc. In this view, Bennett's novels deal not only with the 'education' of the Five Towns men and women but also aim at readers' 'Bildung'. His pragmatic exhortation is expressed in the following words :

> I ought to reflect again and again, and yet again, that the beings among whom I have to steer, the living environment out of which I have to manufacture my happiness, are just as inevitable in the scheme of evolution as I am myself. . . . Having thus reflected in a general manner, I ought to take one by one the individuals with

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whom I am brought into frequent contact, and seek, by a deliberate effort of the imagination and the reason, to understand them, to understand why they act thus and thus, what their difficulties are, what their explanation is, and how friction can be avoided.[34]

It follows that Bennett no longer remains a chronicler or a regionalist; he carves a secure niche in the history of European realism.

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1. In philosophy, when observation is employed about external objects and their knowledge by virtue of their existence, it is called ontology and the knowledge of internal working, origin and range of this knowledge is called epistemology. The proper field of the term 'epistemology' is philosophical study from say Descartes through Locke and Kant to Russell and Wittgenstein. I am applying this term in the empirical sense.
2. Title of the fourth book of *The Old Wives' Tale* (1908).
3. John Locke, *Concerning Human Understanding*, Bk. II, Chap XXI, p. 48. Cited from Mortimer J. Adler, ed. *Great Treasury of Western Thought* (NY : R. R. Booker Com. 1977, p. 377.
4. *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton; New Jersey : Univ. Press, 1951), p. 71.
5. Richard Schachts, *Alienation* (New York : Anchor Books, 1970), p. 59 (notes) and p. 60.
6. Roy Pascal, *The German Novel* (London : Methuen, 1956; 1965), p. 299.
7. *The German Tradition of Self-Cultivation : 'Bilduing' From Humbolt to Thomas Mann* (Cambridge : Univ. Press, 1975), pp. 29-30.
8. "Goethe's Return to Faust and Wilhelm Meister", *German Literature : A Critical Survey*, ed. Bruno Boesch (London : Methuen, 1946; tran. Ronald Taylor, 1971; 1973), p. 227.
9. *Goethe's Novels* (New York : Macmillan, 1969), p. 108.
10. Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, tr. Thomas Carlyle in 1824 (London : Everymans Library, 1912; rpt. 1965), p. 190.
11. *Goethe's Novels*, p. 73.
12. Arnold Bennett, *Clayhanger* (London : Penguin, 1975), pp. 22-23. Subsequent references are incorporated in the text.
13. W. H. Brufor, *The German Tradition of Self Cultivation*, p. 34.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
15. Hans Reiss, *Goethe's Novels*, p. 85.
16. See Bruford, p. 98.
17. *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, p. 210.
18. Reiss, pp. 88, 86.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
20. George Lukacs, *The Theory of the Novel* (London : Merelin Press, 1978), pp. 132, 133.
21. Brufor, p. 57.
22. "Goethe's Return to Faust and Wilhelm Meister" p. 226.

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23. Reiss, pp. 105, 96.
24. Margaret Drabble, *Arnold Bennett : A Biography* (London : Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), p. 202.
25. *These Twain* (1916) (London : Penguin, 1975), p. 166.
26. Title of the Chapter in Arnold Bennett's *The Human Machine* (NY : Garden City Pub. Co. Inc., 1910), p. 51.
27. George Lukacs, "The Ideology of Modernism", *Perspectives in Contemporary Criticism*, ed. Sheldon Norman Grebstein (London : Harper, 1968), pp. 204-5.
28. *Cf.* Henry James's criticism on Arnold Bennett's Clayhanger, See James G. Hepburn'c *Art of Arnold Bennett*, p. 32.
29. See Reiss, p. 98.
30. "Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre", pp. 77-78.
31. John Lucas, *Arnold Bennett : A Study of His Fiction* (London : Methuen, 1974), p. 116.
32. Arnold Bennett, *The Human Machine*, p. 12.
33. James G. Hepburn, Clayhanger (New York : Haskell House Pub. Ltd., 1973), p. 81.
34. *The Human Machine*, p. 56.

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OPTIMISM IN *TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES*

Meera Ramachandran

Edmund Blunden in a preface to his book *Thomas Hardy* remarks that there is a sameness about much of the commentary on Thomas Hardy.[1] Perhaps this is most applicable to statements on the author's vision, whether it be particularly, in the iteration of his pessimism, or in the refutation of it. True, the obsessive concern over his pessimism prevalent in the twenties decreased subsequently, but the field has not been entirely fallow since. The controvertists at best defend the pessimism on the plea of plausibility or tragic realism; at worst they isolate the philosophy from the concrete elements of felt experiences within the novel and foist their argument of non-pessimism on impressionistic criteria as, on the persistent nobility or dignity of the suffering protagonists against all odds. For the defenders the burden of the pessimism lies in Hardy's non-fictional, and Mrs. Hardy's biographical, pronouncements, authorial first person assertions within the novels, the inevitable tragic conclusions of the stories and the damaging role played by chance or fate in the progression of the plots. For instance, for Tess d'Urberville, a dark destiny is seen as a foregone conclusion consequent to the inexorable processes of sociological history, societal double standards, circumstantial misfortunes and finer points in her own character. But a careful and unbiased examination of the novel's movement reveals that the various so-called deterministic forces, as well as the philosophical musings, far from complementarily progressing towards tragedy, actually interact to transform the tragic and the defeatist into a hopeful and optimistic finale, in terms of both felt experience and concrete achievement of the protagonists.

An instance that is invariably adduced as a typical example of a malevolent fate governing the lives of Hardy's protagonists is the fate of Tess's confessional letter written on the eve of her marriage, which slides under Angel Clare's carpet and becomes inaccessible to him. But really this is the most benevolent development in the story. In his book entitled *Hardy the Novelist* Desmond Hawkins says that Hardy found the cause for his pessimism in "the Victorian tide of

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Evolutionary speculations." As proof he quotes the famous lines of *The Return of the Native* beginning "The view of life as a thing to be put up with, replacing that zest for existence which was so intense in early civilizations, must ultimately enter so thoroughly into the constitution of the advanced races . . ."[2] In *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* Hardy describes a similar disenchantment of his heroine as "the ache of modernism."[3] But the fact that Tess, inspite of her past, that instilled this "ache", eventually enjoys, even if with reservations, the bliss of Angel's courtship, and postpones her confession till the eve of the marriage, shows that the instinct of self-preservation and potential for rejuvenation can, and still do, overpower the ache of modernism. But more significantly this instinct makes imminent the union of two "right" souls remedying Hardy's own earlier misgiving after Alec d'Urberville's seduction of Tess : "why so often the coarse appropriates the finer thus, the wrong man the woman, the wrong woman the man . . ." (p. 91). Further the union itself is solemnized and strengthened in marriage because of the supposedly malevolant Chance sliding the letter under the carpet.

The question now to consider is in what way the chance factor governing the letter produced subsequent tragedy. Are we right in presuming that Tess's suffering would have been much less if betrayed by Angel, as lover, than as husband ? Would her repudiation by Angel, on the eve of her marriage, as against after, have produced in her a mental condition more conducive to failing in love again ? Will her mind, now liberated and refined by Angel, ever accept a lesser man ? In any case would she have toughened enough to withhold her past "sin" from the next aspirant to her hand ? Super-sensitive that she is, would she have remained at Talbothays if the repudiation was pre-marital ? The answer to all these questions has to be a definite, big No. Hence from these important and practical perspectives the roll played by chance in the fate of the letter is totally irrelevant and inconsequential.

From another point of view the fate of the letter is actually a blessing in disguise. For if the letter had been read, the marriage would not have taken place, and the tragedy in Tess's life would have been complete and hopeless. It is Angel's social stature as husband that subsequently evokes in him a sense of moral duty and a willing retrospection which act as a force to counter his earlier grievance as victim of deception. This counter force is largely the catalyst to his subsequent return to Tess after liberation from inhibition, narrow-mindedness

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and one-sidedness. Thus the letter's non-receipt has in the long run really served as an instrument of a benevolent Chance.

Before analysing this incident further I wish to include consideration of another chance factor in the novel. This is Tess's journey to meet Angel's parents and malevolent Fate's act of making them absent at home, not allowing Tess to overhear the demoralizing conversation between the younger Clares. Yes, we do have Hardly's own assertion at this point that if she had met the elder Clares she would have found some redemption. But what manner of redemption ? In Hardy's seemingly hopeful hypothesis is an underlying threat of a hopeless tragedy which has generally been overlooked in criticism. He says, "Their hearts went out of them at a bound towards extreme cases, . . . In jumping at publicans and Sinners they would forget that a word mighᵗ be said for the worries of Scribes and Pharisees; and this defect or limitation might have recommended their own daughter-in-law to them at this moment as a fairly choice sort of lost person for their love." (p. 340). In other words, they would have viewed her as a sinner to be forgiven and uplifted. Is this all Tess deserves ? That our response at this stage should be, and will be, one of relief that Tess did not meet the Clares has very cleverly been determined in anticipation by Hardy in a dialogue that took place between Angel and his mother soon after Tess's repudiation. Shrewdly observing that Angel is not quite himself, his mother had asked, "Angel—is she a young woman whose history will bear investigation ?" to which her son replied, "She is spotless !" (p. 299). These were words uttered either spontaneously, or deceptively in self-defence. But the demand of the author and of the sympathetic reader is only this, that these very words be the ultimate verdict on Tess, uttered not evasively but with deliberation and certainty; that her sin be not forgiven but expunged. Such a phenomenon would never have occurred if Tess was once already categorized as a sinner to be rehabilitated by Angel's parents, and hers and the readers' consciousness would have remained troubled for ever. Thus once again Chance and Tess's own sensitiveness combine to prevent a situation that will offer immediate relief but permanently freeze her into a less than perfect reputation.

Tess dies—but dies with the bliss of vindication instead of living with condescending kindness. The return of Angel, incidentally in a chapter entitled "Fulfilment", gives the novel an extremely hopeful and positive ending. It results in the removal of a cantankerous worm from society—a warning for potential libertines about women made desperate

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by them. And this is not a melodramatically contrived ending, but we have evidence that it sprang from real-life contemporary event.. If the desperation behind the murder and its legal outcome is another authorial chastisement of the collective codes, there is in the residue the cleansing of chauvinistic hypocricy in a particular Victorian male, whose s tature as hero makes this the more significant factor. The ending containing Angel's reformation, now complete enough to accept a twice fallen and homicidal wife as an untarnished woman, can hardly be deemed pessimistic. A cultural and social impasse is resolved as Angel's presumed intellectual independence, initially denounced in his repudiation, is now lauded in his final acceptance. Society may yet be inferior, but the novelist's protagonists experience ultimate peace after a prolonged troubled consciousness.

Lastly the exoneration of Tess by Angel produces one of the most unexpected and yet aesthetically satisfying plus materially tangible denouement in literature. This is Angel's marriage to 'Liza-Lu. Critics have seen this event as Hardy's half-hearted resurrection of Tess or as a bizarre and unacceptable addenda (producer Polinsky omitted the event in his movie version) or as vindication of Tess by proxy and therefore not effective at all. But implicit in the marriage is a phenomenon beyond Tess's exoneration. It is the marriage of a rustic and a bourgeois, this time without inhibitions, thus making Tess's aptitudinal reaching out to a higher class viable. It invalidates the general opinion that in Hardy's fiction only the "changeless" characters and the resigned rustics survive. Tess's death thus becomes a worthwhile sacrifice as it transforms tragedy into an affirmation through sociological emancipation.

Thus, there is in the novel at every stage a juxtaposition of protestations and denials with promise and fulfilment. Hardy was too much the master of irony to entertain a fixation of a unidimensional pessimism. A brilliant instance of his irony is his conception of Tess's fate as a possible retribution for the sins on her father's side, while her precarious beauty and vulnerability that are its catalystic agents, as a derivative from the mother's genes. Early in the novel Tess bemoans, "I should never have been born." We shudder to think what might have happened to the d'Urberville family without her. Hardy perceived that the will to progress is as strong in the human will as in the Immanent, one coming to uplift when the other is low. Hence his so-called "philosophical baggage", and the aftermath remedy, combine to demonstrate this balance. Tess's seduction, if the result of lacunae in

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human upbringing and social codes, is compensated for by the natural death of the child, leaving Tess free for a new start. Her purity might have inhibited her from cringing on Alec, but it made her accessible to, and deserving of, Angel. Finally the inefficiency of the collective legal institution is atoned for by the individual. A writer who weaves an elaborate and enthralling saga of an individual life can hardly do so only to impress on the insignificance of the individual life in the cosmic order.

Perhaps the key to the author's vision is the metamorphosis seen in Tess's own character in the course of the novel. Initially a conformist of a kind, she denounces herself by the norms of the very community that is responsible for her fall, thus being as much self-victimizer as victim. But her suffering is her purgation leading to an enlightenment when she is able to declare, "I do not deserve it" in a letter to Angel (p. 400). This eventually leads to self-assertion through the killing of Alec and the bliss of a peaceful conscience. This movement is the thematic focus of the novel—the movement from an easy stance of pessimism to a liberated satire of pessimism. As the waving flag in the concluding sentence of the novel is a reminder of the cataclysmic nature of Tess's tale, the survivors, with strength drawn from this, rise to step into a more promising future.

NOTES

1. Edmund Blunden, *Thomas Hardy* (London : Macmillan, 1942, rpt. 1967).
2. Desmond Hawkins, *Hardy the Novelist* (Newton Abbot : David and Charles, 1965), pp. 21-22.
3. Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* (London : Macmillan, 1963), p. 147. The pagination of all subsequent quotations from the novel are indicated in parenthesis in the text.

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THE ROLE OF ROSA COLDFIELD IN *ABSALOM, ABSALOM !*

Usha Kapur

An orchestration of independent and distinctly audible 'voices' and 'psyches', in which each 'voice' bears a note complete in itself, is a prominent feature of Faulkner's novels. The consciousness of the protagonist is represented as a distinct, other consciousness. At the same time, it is not objectivised as it is not reduced to the status of an object within the consciousness of the author. This fact may be said to apply not only to the protagonist but to all the characters of Faulkner's novels.

The synthesis of the Sutpen tragedy in *Absalom, Absalom !* with its keen and subtle emotional texture of the narrators' psychological exposures and its dramatic intensity is noteworthy. Certain subjective narrations, complex and distorted because of personality perversions help bring the novel's meaning of form to light on account of their typical characteristics. The reader knows the outline of Sutpen's history from Miss Rosa's account who with her shrill cry, opens the legend. In the succeeding narrations, the same outline is told again and again by the other characters. Despite his knowledge of the outcome of Sutpen's 'grand design' as illustrated in Miss Rosa's dramatic style colouring the stylistics of the legend, the reader awaits eagerly what each new redactor will bring to the tale.

Rosa manages to have the reader fall in step with her innuendoes at first. As she tells her story to Quentin, "her voice would not cease, it would just vanish"—we realize here Faulkner's attempt to build up an atmosphere appropriate to show "dreamy and victorious dust."[1] Faulkner's narrative technique befits the mythical requirement of not only preserving but also adding to suspense through its subtle addition of new details (mostly conjectural) of interpretation. The suspense does not restrict itself to the formal structure of the Sutpen legend, but it expands into a keen and eager note of personality traits of the narrators expressed indirectly in the motivation they in turn allot to the actors. Their quest-seeking to remove the distorting layers of what is apparent in order to arrive at the significant and the truth about the tragedy. This discovery

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takes in its stride the reliving of the past. As Rosa and Quentin make a symbolic journey back into time to visit the rotting Sutpen mansion and find Henry Sutpen there, the past stands so distinctly before the reader that he is astounded at Miss Rosa's having swung him backwards in a hypnotic aura unawares. We join him as he listens to her talking in that grim, haggard, amazed voice until at last listening would renege and hearing sense self-confound and the long dead object of her impotent yet indomitable rage would appear, as though by outraged recapitulation evoked, quiet, inattentive and harmless, out of the binding and dreamy and victorious dust."[2]

Rosa Coldfield is firmly 'fixed' in her bondage to the past. In this respect she could be said to be like a character from *The Sound and the Fury*. Quentin, for instance, is obssessed with Caddy as in a fiercer form is Rosa with Sutpen. The past envelops Rosa and in her outrage against Sutpen, she continually returns to grief as though seeking some solace in it. Her rigid mental blocks deny her pliability. Her sticking to her room with the blinds, not only stopping the progressing day's light but also keeping the air humid and hot indoors, with her old notion that dark is cool, is a further evidence of her refusal to accept the present as it is. The dark room represents the darkness that she is enveloped in. As she forever curses Thomas Sutpen, we see the gloomy and dark side of her mind with a possible subconscious desire for him.

There is a new dimension given to an apparently simple characterization by the insight of a suppressed or subconscious desire that Rosa may have in course of time, cultivated for Thomas Sutpen and her hatred is very likely out of her 'long decades of outrage' at Sutpen's offer that they marry after she has proved her ability to bear him a son. On the other hand, Sutpen's attractiveness is another trait that Rosa brings out. Miss Rosa betrays her impossible romanticism by idealizing the Bon-Judith courtship and her obsession with sin 'her ascription of evil to Sutpen'. For her, "the brain recalls just what the muscles grope for; no more, no less : and its resultant sum is usually incorrect and false and worthy only of the name of dream."[3] Rosa's picture of him as a brave man with "the stature and shape of a hero"[4] proves that her presentation of Sutpen is not straight but ambiguous. One tends to accept Quentin's perception of her distorted presentation of Sutpen in his saying that Rosa's story has "that logic and reason flouting quality of dream."[5] Irving Howe has very adequately noted the emotional impact of Miss Rosa's narrative "as she rises to a hysteria of eloquence in castigating

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Sutpen she unwittingly declares herself still subject to him. Were Sutpen to call from the grave, she would run to him an appalled accessory to his diabolism"[6].

But it is Rosa's conscious condemnation of Sutpen that gives us a peep into the malaise that afflicts the Southerners in the present century. The fierce response that is expressed in her narration is perhaps the expected outcome of her deprived childhood, and thwarted womanhood, yet there remains in her a coldness and ruthlessness that is strikingly demonstrated in her treatment of Clytie. Twice in the story, once at the time of Bon's murder, where Rosa is only nineteen, and later again when she is sixty five, Clytie tries to prevent her mounting the strairs to the bedroom where somebody is concealed. On both occasions, Rosa displays implacable opposition. In the earlier one, she hurls at Clytie the derisive epithet of racial inferiority, and in the later, knocks her down with her fist. Miss Rosa's explanation to Quentin of the first incident serves as a good clue to her character. Having perforce accepted a vicarious existence, her only experience of love is her imagined partaking of the raptures of Judith and Charles. The room behind the closed door has come to be the bridal chamber from which she, who has never known physical consummation, is barred by one who is herself the result of a consummation not acceptable to Rosa. She thrusts aside Clytie's restraining hand. On the second occasion, forty six years later, Clytie in terror, tries to prevent Rosa's discovery of the dying Henry. Rosa's hatred of what the house stands for is compounded by her rankling sense of Sutpen's insult and she finally resorts to physical violence.

The incongruity between the poetry-writing recluse and merciless assailant is on the apparent level only. For the same sentimentality which enables her to eulogize the army whose cause is vehemently opposed by her father, obstructs her acceptance of any other reality. Rosa's is a madness besides which Sutpen's "design" and his incomprehension of the cause of its failure appear almost sane. Ilse Dusoir Lind is not too far from truth when she finds Rosa frustrated, bigoted pretentious and undeniably mad although she commends Rosa's sections for their poetizing tendency, and they could be said to be poetry in all but metre. They remind the reader of the compositions of Emily Dickinson, particularly of the title "A Rose for Emily" which may have inspired Faulkner's creation of her. The "roseate atmosphere of Emily's death-in-life" is similar to the 'mourning black' worn by Rosa for nobody knew whom. It is to be conjectured that it is nothusband for the

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whose audacious and cold-blooded proposition—"let's try it and if it's a boy and it lives, we'll get married"—enkindles a burning sensation in her which does not reduce its hurting effect even after forty three years.

It is as though time did not exist for Rosa. The element of time is a significant element in *Absalom, Absalom*! Time as measured by mortals is just a fragmentary illusion. It is to be observed how Rosa captures a whole span of history by one single thought, and this is done by her without effort for she could be called a part of the past living in the present. Judging from this, *Absalom, Absalom* ! is his commentary on man's processes of thought regarding time, and the lack of strict chronological sequence in his novel is a testimony to the invalidity of man's attitude to time. It is a novel of contemplation, not of action, although Sutpen's crime is the deed that sets the reflection and the dialogue in motion. Each of the narrators can be viewed as having had their thoughts propelled by action which took place in the past—their reminiscences being on different levels of perspective and direction. If these versions are compared, for example, Rosa's version with Shreve's Or Mr. Compson's, the result would be disunity and a chaos. On the other hand, Faulkner seems to have not only aimed for but also achieved a strange type of cohesion, first of all by the immediate fact that all the participants are engaged in the same quest for truth and reality, and secondly by the ultimate fact that all the characters in the book have been bequeathed the same historical legacy. It is their respective individual response to the one fact, that makes us aware of Faulkner's intricate and subtle perceptive powers. "Faulkner's ability to create characters who are closely related psychologically and who illuminate different aspects of a single world-view had been evident from his very first novel. There, though handled clumsily, it revealed, as did all his other works, his own contradictory waverings between romantic and ironic self-characterization."[7] *Absalom, Absalom!* reveals this technique having been used ever so subtly, the character-traits well brought out in the psychological revelations made inadvertantly in the narratives and the work attains a rare symphonic effect thereafter.

Rosa adds to the depth as well as length of the artistic dimensions of the novel in her own characteristic manner. Rosa and Clytie face one another, "I motionless in the attitude and action of running, she rigid in that furious immobility."[8] One can realize the psychological state rendered equally well as the active one.

Dont you go up there, Rosa. That was how she said it : that quiet,

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that still and again it was as though it had not been she who spoke but the house itself that said the words—the house which he had built, which some suppuration of himself had created about him as the sweat of his body might have produced some (even if invisible) cocoon—like and contemporary shell in which Ellen had had to live and die a stranger, in which Henry and Judith would have to be victims and prisoners, or die. Because it was not the name the word, the fact that she had called me Rosa. . . . 'Rosa ?' I cried. 'To Me ? To My face ?' Then she touched me, and then I did stop dead.[9]

The images that Rosa's narrative gives birth to in our minds remain impinged on our minds. With their cultural heritage, these images become symbolic and help in removing the tiers of 'obscurity' surrounding the 'Meaning of Form' in *Absalom, Absalom*! With her emotional outbursts and hysterical condemnations of Thomas Sutpen or Clytie when provoked to a point, Rosa helps us grasp appreciably, the novel's formal essence and arouses our intrigue to seek out Faulkner's less apparent narrative structure.

Miss Rosa represents Faulkners's concern with the doomed perversity of human nature. A belief in Sutpen's foredoomed obliteration is to her "a psychological necessity, a means by which she can give an outlet to her private outrage." A Methodist Steward's daughter, she has a staunch belief in an avenging fate ordered by a wrathfully righteous Lord, pondering "what our father or his father could have done before he married our mother that Ellen and I would have our family cursed to expiate . . . what crime committed that would leave our family cursed to be instruments not only for that man's destruction, but for our own."[10] By endowing Sutpen with supernatural vitality, Rosa, with her perverted moralism, invokes the certainty of his destruction.

It is thi s moralism that helps the reader recognize Rosa's exact speech. The "biblically flavored" language is undeniably Rosa's.

". . . Overrun suddenly the hundred square miles of tranquil and astonished earth and drag house and formal gardens violently out of the soundless nothing and clap them down like cards upon a table beneath the up-palm immobile and pontific, creating Sutpen's Hundred, the *Be Sutpen's Hundred* like the oldentime *Be Light*."[11]

Again Miss Rosa's phrases such as "begot a son and a daughter" and "the jewels of his pride and the sheild and comfort of his old age"[12]

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suggest biblical analogy. "Rosa Coldfield's Puritan—Methodism serves as a focal moral point of view through which the reader sees the rise and fall of Sutpen's dynasty. Here is the first voice recognized distinctly in the novel, and though the moral tone of that voice is modified by other views (Mr. Compson's particularly), the tone recurs again and again, permeating the novel. Though Miss Coldfield's narrative may be thought of as melodramatic and gothic, it reflects the melodrama and the gothicism of the *Old Testament*, particularly the books of the elder prophets."[13]

Referring to Rosa Coldfield as a moralist as her narrations make her out to be, John W. Hunt appreciates her role admitting that the "Christian moral view is given esthetic embodiment in Absalom, Absalom !"[14] To see the mythic import of the story in relation to the *Old Testament* is to give the Sutpen legend a universal and timeless entity. In Miss Rosa's condemnation of Sutpen, the earliest instances of the moral injustices of kingship are to be deduced. Melodramatic and gothic as Miss Rosa's narrative is, it depicts the melodrama and gothicism and the *Old Testament*. Ilse Dusoir Lind calls the novel a "grand tragic vision of historic dimension in which the hero falls because of an innate deficiency of moral insight."[15] Rosa's narrative is primarily concerned with the recreation of Thomas Sutpen as a diabolical being, "from abysmal and chaotic dark to eternal and abysmal dark completing his descending."[16] It is Sutpen's 'motiveless behaviour' which is responsible for the decline not only of his family and the families of those connected with him but of the South itself.

In her role as a historian, Rosa talks about Sutpen in a certain manner, in order, so it may be assumed, to let people know "why God let us lose the war."[17] Quentin and Shreve, with the help of Rosa's distorted impressions of Sutpen, "Because he was not articulated in this world. He was a walking shadow . . . [18] try constructing his character. *Absalom, Absalom* ! does not aim at merely building up an intrigue of the outcome of Sutpen's 'grand design' but it significantly deals with the 'nature of historical truth' and the reader's awareness of the past. Rosa's narration with its partial disclosures and regularly revised judgments on Sutpen's immoral (according to her) conduct, helps bring the 'meaning of form' of *Absalom, Absalom* ! home to us. The fragmentary structure can be glimpsed in her hysterical outbursts—incomplete in themselves. Her tale may be said to be 'of shadows: the Satanic shape, the beautiful (unseen) murdered young man, a

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South in chaos and purgative flames—these are the form and substance of her stopped life."[19]

Although least expected yet we find ourselves stirred intellectually by Miss Rosa's conjectures of the Sutpen legend. An awareness that the capacities of the imagination are invariably rooted in our moral life, is brought home to us, by taking a note of her role in the Southern saga.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
3. Donald M. Kartiganer, *The Fragile Thread : The Meaning of Form in Faulkner's Novels*, Amberst. Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1979 p. 143.
4. *Absalom, Absalom !* p. 19.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
6. Irving Howe, *William Faulkner : A Critical Study*, New York : Random House : 1952. pp. 222-23
7. Judith Bryant Wittenberg, *Faulkner : The Transfiguration of Biography*, Lincoln : Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1979, p. 148.
8. *Absalom, Absalom !* p. 140.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
10. *Absalom, Absalom !* p. 138.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
13. Ralph Behrens, "Collapse of Dynasty : The Thematic Center of *Absalom, Absalom !*" PMLA 89, 1 (January 1974). p. 29.
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15. Ilse Dusoir Lind, "The Design and Meaning of *Absalom, Absalom !* PMLA, LXX, December. 1955, p. 986.
16. *Absalom, Absalom !*, p. 171.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
19. Donald M. Kartigarner, *The Fragile Thread : The Meaning of Form in Faulkner's Novels*, Amberst. The Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1979, p. 147.

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FRANK ALPINE AS RELIGIOUS HERO IN BERNARD MALAMUD'S *THE ASSISTANT*

Kamal N. Awasthi

In the olden times the hero was essentially presented through the great epics such as the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, *Gilgamesh*, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, etc. The hero was a man with extraordinary lineage, sometimes divine, sometimes semi-divine. With the coming of the twentieth century in the wake of anthropology, comparative religion and psychology, the notion of the hero came to be conceptualised in rigorous intelligible and numinous terms. It is in this view that Frank Alpine, the protagonist of *The Assistant* will be examined as a Religious Hero in this paper. The Religious Hero will not be defined in terms of traditional theology as a person who renounces life, goes through a period of intense asceticism in forest, desert or in the cave, attains a numinous state of consciousness in terms of Yogic *Samadhi*, and then returns to give its benefits to the mass of men in society. In Jungian terms the hero is a person who comes under the spell of an archetype. As a result of his relationship with the archetype, a deep change takes place in the various components of his personality such as ego, shadow, complexes, anima, etc.

Malamud's Frank Alpine, is an example of a Religious Hero par excellence. He dominates the novel like a colossus. Although he can be studied and evaluated from any number of perspectives, the analysis will focus on him from the point of view of the religious hero. Early in the novel, the reader becomes aware of his fascination with St. Francis. This fascination develops and grows through reading, dreams, and the ethereal-mystical or visionary interventions of St. Francis at climactic points in the novel. In addition to his devotional, gnostic and dynamic relationship with St. Francis, Frank also relates to Judaism through his living relationship with Morris Bober. In the words of Martin Buber, the Catholic Frank has a dialogue with Judaism.

The protagonist is an Italian refugee who has a shady past. He was an unwilling accomplice to a hold-up of Morris Bober. Possibly, Frank

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was driven to this in order to satisfy his hunger, the first need in Maslow's 'hierarchy of needs'.[1] Frank's nervousness at the time of the hold-up and his being only a silent and trembling spectator is suggestive of the struggle between his inferior shadow-ridden emotions and the higher consciousness which he ultimately evinces in his emergence as a religious hero. That stealing is not a part of Frank's consciousness is also demonstrated by still another incident. When Morris slumps to the grounds after being hit by Ward, Frank offers water to the victim: "The one at the sink hastily rinsed a cup and filled it with water. He brought it to the grocer, spilling some on his apron as he raised the cup to his lips". [2] The protagonist here foreshadows his ultimate role as a religious hero.[3]

Stealing figures in the novel as a potential problem in the consciousness of the protagonist. He is, however, not capable of translating this dark side of his personality into any tangible action single-handed. In fact, prior to the robbery, he had argued with Ward Minogue the futility of robbing a poor Jew. Ward, however, has to be regarded as the other side of his personality, his 'dark brother' or the *shodow* which is an inseparable part of one's psychic totality. Prompted by the *shadow*, he willy-nilly becomes an accomplice in the hold-up thus revealing the repressed ambition of a drifter. In short, he becomes the victim of the American story of success. Ironically though, he visits the site of his crime and as if in retribution seeks work in the same store. In fact his background as a catholic is impinging on his consciousness and he has returned to the store to atone for his sins.

A wide gap, however, exists between Frank's intentions and his actions. Even though he has steady work—something that he never had in the past—and gets a raise in his allowance besides a fairly comfortable quarter to live in, he takes to pilfering a dollar now and then from the sale. To overcome or blur this gap between intention and action, he rationalises: "It was because he felt he had brought them luck. If he stopped stealing he bet business would fall off again, he was doing them a favour, at the same time making it a little worthwhile to stay on and give them a hand" (p.78). Frank's nonchalant stealing and his rationalising is an indication of the fact that he has not as yet come into what Kierkegaard regards as ethical living existentially. His desire to live well emanates from the hold of the personal shadow and that of the collective shadow issuing from the matrix of the *zeitgeist*. Frank in his quest is fighting a battle on two fronts: on the one hand he is struggling

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against his personal shadow and on the other against the collective shadow. The personal shadow in Jungian psychology contains psychic features of the individual which are unlived from the beginning of his life or are scarcely lived. The collective shadow represents the prevailing *zeit geist*, or the spirit of the age.[4] Viewed in the context of Frank's personal story of success, both personal and collective shadows coalesce in a way that he has to fight simultaneously against the inner and outer reality. Morris Bober's store does not merely represent the poverty, squalor and misery of Bober family but in a larger context the shattered material world of America of the Depression days. Both the characters, Morris Bober and Frank Alpine, are inextricably caught in the whirlpool of social, economic and ethnic pressures of the American society : "If a partial identity is gained through poverty, we also see that it is poverty imposed by society, that smothers any possibilities of this identity becoming truly heroic."[5] There, obviously, is a solidarity of poverty between the protagonist and Morris Bober.

The social milieu is the collective shadow which the protagonist has to overcome. The society is highly competitive and the traditional values subserve the prevailing value of practicality and success. Morris though poor has irrevocable faith in the traditional values of honesty and truth. Frank, on the other hand, believes in expediency and, therefore, advises Morris to try a couple of tricks to dupe the customers and make more profit : "Why don't you try a couple of those tricks yourself Morris? Your amount of profit is small" (p.78). But Morris is a man of stern morality and feels flabbergasted at the suggestion : "Why should I steal from my costomers ? . . .When a man is honest he don't worry when he sleeps. This is more important than to steal a nickel" (p.78). While rehearsing confession, Frank in an intrespective moment reveals his ambivalence towards the inner and outer reality. He is both rehearsing a confession of his past guilt as also falling into a fantasy to become somebody important through means shady and ignominous : "At crime, he would change his luck, make adventure, live like a prince" (p.84). Frank's crime fantasy in order to become somebody important existentially compensates for his actual marginal and shabby existence.

The religious hero, even as he struggles to overcome the mundane, the murky, the shadow in himself, has also to struggle against the prejudices and bigotry of those around. Frank himself did not carry any strong anti-Semitic feelings, although a feeling often gnawed him that he robbed Morris because he was a Jew. Frank, however, as an orphan, is unencumbered by any personal, family or theological

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antipathies. Being free from Imagos, he is quite secular in his outlook. A depotentiated hero under such circumstances would have fallen a victim to the collective. Because, "the shadow becomes fatal when there is too little vitality or too little consciousness in the hero for him to complete his heroic task."[6] Frank has neither scoffed nor accepted the suggestion of ani-Semites who persuade him to leave the Jewish store: "Don't work for a yid, kiddo" (p. 52). Frank thus is overcoming the shadow and gradually getting into the mould of a religious hero. In a way he is freeing himself from the shadow of the Christian or the Jewish in macro terms. The hero moves towards cosmic consciousness, imparting forgiveness to all and sundry just as Christ did : "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."[7] The concretisation of the Christian shadow, in its infernal murkiness is represented and symbolised by war as the annals of history reveal. In this view, therefore, Catholic Frank and Jewish Morris, working together is a major break-through towards a religious harmony.

So far Frank as a religious hero has been shown in his fight against the inferior shadow, both personal and racial. This shadow in Jungian terms blocks the relationship between the aspiring, heroic ego and the deeper values of the anima. In mythic terms, the relationship with the anima usually is projected in some sort of an encounter with women. To put it simply, every hero invariably encounters a woman in this phase of his quest. If it is a temptress and the hero is defeated, he becomes depotentiated. Sometimes the hero is literally annihilated; if it is a goddess, speaking metaphorically, she lifts and exalts him, as it were, in a quantum jump, emotionally and spiritually. In psychological terms, such a woman symbolises the anima of the hero. Anima is the feminine component in man's psyche and represents the necessity to establish a relationship with the contrasexual background element in the psyche. Frank meets such a woman in the form of Helen[8], the grocer's daughter. He could not, however, conceive of a clerk working in a store measuring up to the grandiosity of a hero. His repsonses remain inhibited, crippled as he was by the psychic sounds of his own past : "He has nothing, a back-breaking past, had committed a crime against her old man, and in spite of his touchy conscience was stealing from him too" (p. 82). He is locked into a never ending battle with his personal shadow. Unable to overcome the shadow, he cannot realise the anima.

Frank's real dialogue with Helen, who is being presented here

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as an anima figure, starts from the Library. Significantly, it begins in a numinous way with the story of St. Francis :

> I was reading about the life of St. Francis in the library, and when you mentioned the snow it made me think about this story when he wakes up one winter night, asking himself did he do the right thing to be a monk. My God, he thought, supposing I met some nice young girl and got married to her and by now I had a wife and a family ? That made him feel bad so he couldn't sleep. He got out of his straw bed and went outside of the church or monastery or wherever he was staying. The ground was all covered with snow. Out of it he made this snow woman, and he said, "There, that's my wife." Then he made two or three kids out of the snow. After, he kissed them all and went inside and laid down in the straw. He felt a whole lot better and fell asleep (p 87).

Since the dialogue begins with the story of St. Francis, it will be in the fitness of things to set up the relevance of St. Francis in the life of Frank.

Frank has an archetypal relationship with St. Francis, before he meets Helen. He cannot possess the anima because the anima demands sacrifice and transmutation of the physical into spiritual. This interplay of ego and anima imparts deeper meaning to his relationship with the archetype of St. Francis. The resolution of the stalemate with the anima comes through St. Francis. Actually, it is a Dantesque movement. Born of rich parents and brought up in an aristocratic way, St. Francis renounced all worldly comforts and became a monk. Frank describes him thus : "He gave everything away that he owned, every cent, all his clothes off his back. He enjoyed to be poor. He said poverty was a queen and he loved her like she was a beautiful woman" (p. 31). From his poor, ignominous, material circumstances, it would appear to the reader that Frank is trying to strike a compensatory mythic connection with St. Francis. St. Francis discarded all he owned to embrace poverty as a chosen ideal; Frank with a drifting past is accepting poverty as an existential fact. Writing about Frank's relationship with St. Francis, Walter Shear observes : "Because he is almost a composite of fleshly weaknesses, Frank Alpine can never really be Francis of Assisi, but he can struggle under the awareness of the image, approach it at times, turn from it and back again."[9] It is

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difficult to agree with the view point of Shear. As the story unfolds, it becomes apparent to the reader that Frank becomes St. Francis in that he manifests in his life and doings the quintessence of the teachings of St. Francis.

The image of St. Francis impinges on Frank's consciousness from the beginning of the novel. Needless to say when he volunteers to work in the squalor and misery of the store, he is accepting the saint's ideal of poverty. And though his stealing continues unabated alongside he shows signs of overcoming it with expanding and growing will. St. Francis is acting as an archetype on his consciousness and all his actions like choosing the grocery store as a source of meagre sustenance and his feminine contrasexual component in Helen are guided by the propulsions of the unconscious. While he has accepted the poverty of the store in consonance with the ideal of poverty of St. Francis, the paradigm of the saint making a snow wife and children is also significant in the context of Frank's relationship with Helen. Unconsciously, as it were, the dialogue with Helen with the story from St. Francis connotes spiritual tones. Evidently, he wants to raise his eros to the heights of spiritual devotion. In a way, he demonstrates his inclination to renounce the physical anima.

Thus Frank's initial encounter with Helen was not on the plane of physical anim. Rather, it, seems as if he has renounced his physical anima like that of the monk. But as the relationship with Helen becomes deeper and closer, the sublime gives way to biological and instinctual needs. Perhaps at this juncture, with a view to dealing with Frank's confusion in his relationship with the anima and the reversal that he undergoes from the physical to the spirtual, from the spiritual to the instinctual, to the over-idealised adoration, it would be helpful to present Jung's formulation of the four levels of anima. Without an understanding of these four levels, the reader probably would not be able to analyse Frank's thoughts and actions. Jung observes :

> The first stage is best symbolised by the figures of Eve, which represents purely instinctual and biological relations. The second can be seen in Faust's Helen. She personifies a romantic and aesthetic level that is however, still characterised by sexual elements. The third is represented for instance, by the Virgin Mary—a figure who raises love (eros) to the heights of spiritual devotion.

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> The fourth type is symbolised by Saptientia, wisdom transcending even the more holy and the most pure.[10]

Frank, in his over-idealisation, has related his anima to the third stage; the spiritual anima, without overcoming his instinctual desires. Needless to say, his desires are clamorous. His desperation to hold Helen in his arms derives him to a sexual fantasy. The Frank-Helen relationship reaches an anti-climax when while waiting for Frank, Helen is assaulted by Ward Minogue in the park. Frank rescues her and in his excitement his lust surfaces violently. Figuratively speaking, Frank consummates with Helen as a surrogate of his dark brother Ward Minogue. Under the impact of this twofold functioning of his psyche, under the impact of the over-activation of his shadow-ridden instinctuality and the heroic effort to rescue his anima, he becomes both the rescuer and the rapist. The tendency to renounce the physical anima which he demonstrated in the beginning of his relationship with Helen is premature and ill-timed.

In his struggle with the various components of the psyche, Frank has also entered into a dialectical relationship with the pervasive archetype of St. Francis. On an unconscious plane, he has accepted the ideal of poverty and self-abnegation but consciously at the functional level, his physical needs have an obsessive-compulsive hold on him. With the growth of his relationship with St. Francis, there is a positive growth of the hero in his endeavour to strik a meaningful relationship with the Jewish family and the store. His transformation into a religious hero occurs via a two-fold process : the integration of the teachings of St. Francis empirically and the assimilation of the Jewish values reflected by Morris Bober. It is his discipleship under Morris which results in his deep and profound connection with St. Francis. Morris is a stoic who endures his suffering like the archetypal Job. He experiences from Morris the futility of cheating his customers. Morris also spurns the offer of an arsonist to burn his store and make huge money out of insurance. The stern sense of morality of the grocer is also highlighted by the Rabbi at his funeral, in the synagogue : "Who runs in winter time without hat or coat, without rubbers to protect his feet, two blocks in snow to give back five cents that a customer forgot" (p. 202). Frank's baptism into a religious hero, therefore, begins with his growing awareness of the ethical reality as examplified by Morris. Paradoxically, as it were, his archetypal connection with St. Francis becomes meaningful via his experiential relationship with Morris and his values.

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Frank's transformation is however not complete since he has not yet been baptised as a grocer by Bober's family. Though he has replaced Morris who is in hospital and runs the store, paying Ida twelve dollers a week as rent, he remains merely a 'goy' to Ida and Helen. Wounded as he is, he accepts the suffering like Morris. The crystallisation of the archetype of St. Francis takes place when he starts participating in the Jewish reality of Morris Bober. At the grocer's burial, Helen throws a rose into the grave. In his desire to see where the rose fell, Frank slips and awkwardly flailing his arms falls into the grave. This fall is a symbolic rebirth of Frank and immediately after the funeral he is behind the counter of the store with the grocer's apron on his person. As he rings the register, Helen and Ida come to know that "the grocer was the one who had danced on the grocer's coffin" (p. 206). It is not only a symbolic rebirth but also the completion of Frank's exile : "His exile apparently complete, Frankie reconnects with Morris only thrice; first in the form of unwanted son when he rescues the grocer, and the store from a fire which Moris had started to collect insurance money; later when he attends Morris's funeral, and dances out to the horrer of assembled mourners, his unacknowledged transformation."[11] Frankie's rebirth cannot be real and meaningful unless his baptism as a grocer is recognised by Ida and Helen.

The archetype of St. Francis is illustrated through certain recurrent symbols. In one of his dreams, Frank views Helen throwing a white flower from the window. The Flower, like the cross or the wheel is the form of *mandala* which is the oldest religious symbol of mankind. Jolandi observes :

> For the most part the mandalas . . . are only preliminary sketches, more or less successful steps toward ultimate perfection and wholeness. To strive for this goal is our destiny and highest calling, but in view of our human limitations, the attainment is always relative.[12]

Symbolically, this dream suggests that the hero's relationship with Helen, his anima, is still undifferentiated. Significantly, the flower symbol is a recurrent motif in the dreams of Frank. It appears twice in the form of a rose flower. Soon after this dream, Frank in an attempt to communicate with the anima aesthetically carved a rose out of a pine board : "He set out to carve her a flower and it came out a rose starting to bloom" (p. 172). He wrapped it and with Helen's name on the

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wrapper fixed it on her mail box only to find it in the garbage can the next morning. In this view, the symbolism of the white flower thrown by Helen in the grave and the wooden rose carved by the protagonist becomes obvious. The wooden rose signifies the physical and sensual functioning of Frank while the white flower represents the purity of the anima.

The high point of the novel is the appearance of St. Francis in Frank's thoughts in the penultimate paragraph. The rose that Frank had carved out of wood for Helen is picked up by St. Francis from the garbage tin :

> He saw St. Francis come dancing out of the woods in his brown rags, a couple of scrawny birds flying around his head. St. Francis stopped in front of the grocery and reaching into the garbage tin, plucked the wooden rose out of it. He tossed it into the air and it turned into a real rose that he caught in his hand. With a bow he gave it to Helen, who had just come out of the house. 'Little sister, here is your little sister the rose.' From him she took it, although it was with the love and best wishes of Frank Alpine. (p. 217)

This shows that the rose of his devotion ultimately belongs to St. Francis and not to Helen. Helen, who represents his anima is a partial structure of the archetype of the self. The self as central archetype is the archetype of order, perfection, and the totality of the personality. The midpoint which leads to a union of the two psychic systems, conscious and unconscious, is the self. Like ego, shadow and persona, anima is only a partial manifestation of the total psychic reality which Jung calls as the archetype of self. St. Francis, therefore, is the manifestation of the archetype of self in the sense that he has secured both the inner and outer reality. He is a symbol of the wholeness, the perfection, the unity, available only to those favoured by grace. The archetype of the self in a way is synonymous with *mandala* which is in the shape and form of a rose or lotus. The fact that St. Francis turns the wooden rose into a real rose shows the transformation of the sensual into the spiritual. The wooden rose represents the inanimate and when Frank offered it to Helen, he was revealing only his instinctuality. With St. Francis as his mentor and the archetypal force, Frank could not have interacted with his anima at the gross, physical plane. Only from the plane of self symbolised by St. Francis could the rose of devotion be offered to Helen. Therefore, it is not Frank who offers the rose to Helen but St. Francis and the implication obviously points to the transformation

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of Frank into St. Francis and Helen into Clara[13], St. Francis's anima before and after his renunciation.

Jung also takes the rose as the symbol of the beloved : "It is indeed the essence of the beloved and a designation for the Virgin Mary (mystical rose)."[14] Symbols, however, have to be seen in their context in terms of their bound and unbound implications. In the context of the Frank-Helen relationship, the rose connotes spiritualisation of the anima. Incidentally, the beginning of the dialogue between Helen and Frank starts from the story of St. Francis. The transformation of the wooden rose into a real rose, therefore, comes at the end of the novel when Frank had overcome his instinctuality. Before this vision of St. Francis, Frank after having attended to the morning customers is reading the Bible and "he sometimes thought there were parts of it he could have written himself" (p . 217). In a way he is on the path to enlightenment and a cosmic understanding of the reality available only to saints and prophets. That he could have written chapters of the Bible shows his transformation into a religious being. In a numinous, spiritual way, Frank has attained Jasper's[15] 'being in itself' after overcoming his lower self.

The climax of the novel is marked by the circumcision of Frank and his conversion into a Jew after the Passover. Frank's circumcision is a symbolic sacrifice viewed from the perspectives of anthropology and psychology :

> In order to mollify the wrath of the Terrible Mother, the most beautiful girl was sacrificed as a symbol of man's concupiscence. Milder forms were the sacrifice of the first-born, and of various domestic animals. The alternative ideal is self castration, of which a milder form is circumcision.... By sacrificing these valued objects of desire and possession, the instinctive desire, or libido, is given up in order that it may be regained in new form.[16]

The circumcision of Frank, therefore, is the sacrifice of that part of the ego modality which is manifested in the form of bigotry, racial prejudice and intolerance. Viewed from the perspectives of traditional theology, it amounts to sublimation of the ego for participation in and transmitting of the archetypal influence of St. Francis.

The hero, therefore, is united to the purity of the anima on the one level and to St. Francis on the other. Morris has mediated between

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Frank and his daughter Helen and through his example of poverty, struggle and suffering related Frank to St. Francis :

> In the discussion between Morris and Frank on the Jewish experience—and this must be interpreted as both historical and current experience—the characters shift from the contemporary roles of storekeeper and assistant to their purer religious selves, teacher and novitiate . . . . In time he succeeds his teacher and accepts the philosophy of suffering and acquiescence, symbolically represented by his conversion to Judaism and his curcumcision.[17]

The saint ideal of poverty is realised by him only through suffering in the tomb-like store o the grocer. Richman observes perceptively : "Throughout the novel, the young Italian's conversion to Judaism is indistinguishable from his conversion to the saint of Catholicism. If he is circumcised in the final paragraph, he is St. Francis 'dancing out of the woods' in the penultimate one."[18] Frank Alpine in his devotion to the Catholic saint via the experiential exposure to Jewish reality culminating in his circumcision brings forth religious unity and imparts a metaphysical shock to dogmatic fantacism : "As he accepts faith, he paradoxically eradicates the barriers between theologies."[19]

Frank, finally, becomes both the redeemer and the redeemed. He becomes an 'influence', a beacon of light. Sri Aurobindo specifies three instruments of the Guru : Teaching, Example, Influence. The Guru must take his disciple through these instruments. Sri Aurobindo describes 'Influence' as :

> Influence is more important than example. Influence is not the outward authority of the Teacher, over his disciple, but the power of the contact, of his presence, of the nearness of his soul to the soul of another, infusing into it, even though in silence that which he himself is and possesses. This is the supreme sign of the Master. For the great Master is much less a Teacher than a presence pouring the divine consciousness and its constituting light and power and purity and bliss into all who are receptive around him.[20]

Frank, thus, transcends, the master St. Francis and his higher shadow sympathos, Morris Bober. St. Francis was a devout Catholic and Morris an orthodox Jew. An achievement of the magnitude of Frank—accepting a faith other than his own altruistically—could not perhaps be achieved by St. Francis or Morris. St. Francis remains a Catholic saint

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within the boundaries of the Catholic faith. In this view, Frank travels a long journey from a mere drifter to an 'influence' with a halo around him. By his deeds and actions he himself becomes what Aurobindo calls 'presence'. Frank thus becomes the Bodhisattva[21] daring to harmonise that what has remained schismatic and strive-torn in the Western World—Judaism and Christianity.

NOTES

1. Abraham H. Maslow, *Towards a Psychology of Being* (Princeton : D. Van Nostrand Co. Inc. 1972), pp. 141-56.
2. Bernard Malamud, *The Assistant* (1967; rpt. Harmondsworth : Penguin Books, 1974), p. 27. All subsequent references are from this edition and are incorporated hereafter in the text in parentheses.
3. In this context, the example of Balmiki, the Indian sage who later wrote the epic the *Ramayana* is very relevant. He was a highway man before his transformation into a religious hero.
4. Jolande Jacobi, *The Psychology of C. G. Jung* (1942; rpt. London : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 111.
5. Norman Lear, "Three American Novels and Contemporary Society : A Search for Commitment," *Contemporary Literature* 3 : 3 (1962), p. 72.
6. C. G. Jung, *Symbols of Transformation*, Trans. R. F. C. Hull, Vol. V, 2nd ed. (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 259.
7. "Luke", 23 : 34, *The Bible.*
8. Incidentally, in history, classical mythology and in medieval formulation, Helen was considered as the anima par excellence. Inherent in her are the values of eros and aesthetics. It is interesting to note that Helen has dominated the consciousness of western man. For students of literature, she is enshrined in *Dr. Faustas* and *Faust* of Goethe.
9. Walter Shear, "Culture Conflict in *The Assistant*," *Midwest*, 7 : 4 (1966), p. 374.
10. C. G. Jung, et. al. ed., *Man and His Symbols* (1964; rpt. London : Pan Books, 1978), p. 195.
11. Sidney Richman, *Bernard Malamud* (1955; rpt. India. Bombay : Popular Parkashan, 1969), p. 63.
12. Jolande Jacobi, p. 138.
13. Francis of Assisi used to sing serenades like courtly poets below the window of anima Calra. However, when he renounced the worldly reality and announced his marriage to the goddess of poverty, Clara also later joined his order and Francis baptised her as Sister Clara.
14. C. G. Jung, *Symbols of Transformation*, p. 398n.
15. Karl Jaspers, leading Christian existentialist of the twentieth century deals with states of being consciousness. The first stage is that of being there. In that state one is an object in the midst of other objects. The second stage is designated by Jaspers as being one self. Here one comes to terms with one's life, background; one survives to be oneself; to gain authenticity, sincerity but one is still ego-bound— one is still subjective. The third stage is being as others. In this stage being moves from personal authenticity to higher consciousness vibrating to others via

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sympathy, compassion, eros, agape, via Christian *caritas*. Being-in-itself is all encompassing experience of the numinous and the absolute. It is the cosmic experience of the religious mystics. As we can see all these four stages can be outlined in the quest of Frank Alpine.

16. C.G. Jung, *Symbols of Transformation*, pp. 430-31.
17. Walter Shear, pp. 377-78.
18. Richman, p. 71.
19. H. E. Francis, "Bernard Malamud's Everyman," *Midstream*, 7:1 (1961), pp. 96-7.
20. Sri Aurobindo, *The Synthesis of Yoga*, Vol. XXI, Pt. I and II (Pondicherry : Birth Centenary Library, 1971), p. 60.
21. The concept of Bodhisattva was expounded in *Diamond Sutra*. Bodhisattva is a person who is on the verge of experiencing enlightenment. He has it available to him and he can enter into a beautitude and non-residual, non-dualistic consciousness, but he chooses to stay in the world, the matrix of living in order to help others, in order to make a sacrifice of his being for the realisation of others.

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THE MOTTOES ON SUNDIALS : A NOTE

S. Satpathy

His true Penelope was Flaubert,
He fished by obstinate isles;
Observed the elegance of Circe's hair
Rather than the mottoes on sundials.[1]

Despite the existence of several commentaries on the opening "Ode" of *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*, some of which give special attention to the fourth quatrain already quoted, the full significance of "the mottoes on sundials" continues to elude us. This note attempts to read the "mottoes" in the light of one of Pound's letters. Such a reading, it is hoped, will be consistent with the ironical structure of the poem as well as with the "mythical method" employed therein.

As against widely divergent, and sometimes ingenious readings[2] of the rest of the quatrain, the fourth line is taken rather literally to mean "the banalities inscribed on the sundials : such as mottoes, for instance, as 'it is later than you think'," [3] or simply as " . . . while life slipped by."[4] The commentators who recognise the extremely complex ironical speaker of this ode seem nonetheless to ignore the ironical implications of this line. Also, these readings of the line of a poem which employs the "mythical method," fail to bring out the element of "contemporaneity" in the sundial of "antiquity". Surely, the, mottoes mean something to E.P. on the ironical level and something else to the speaker of the mock-obituary. A key to the contemporary significance and ironical implication Pound might have intended can be had from one of his letters to Margaret Anderson sometime before he wrote the poem. Expressing his anger and consternation at the state of reviewing in his times he wrote in his characteristic manner :

> And The Dial, OH gosh, slosh, tosh, the dial, d, i, a, l, dial. Dial—the stationary part of a clock or other chronometer. And the *New Republic*, stodgied copy of the dessicated *New Statesman*. Why "new", why this passion for "newness" always confined to the title ? . . .[5]

(August 1917)

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This, then, is Pound's idea of a dial and its motto can only be: "stay put." Here perhaps one should see the parallel between antiquity and contemporaneity : the mottoes in the ancient chronometer indicate the passage of time which Ulysses had ignored while admiring Circe's hair as did the modern E.P. according to the speaker. But on the ironical level Pound implies that E.P. scarcely cared to follow the set expectations and prescriptions of the reviewers and editors of magazines such as the *Dial*. Of course, Pound does not intend to pinpoint *The Dial* but the connection must have been an attractive proposition for him. He could be exploiting the similarity between the *Dial* and dial to indict the entire literary establishment, so that the *Dial* achieves a generic status and the fact that the *Dial* was American does not conflict with the farewell-to-London-attitude of the poem.

This reading will be in keeping with Pound's actual experiences during his years in London. His letters are full of angry outbursts against the review-world the likes of which serve as the chief motivating force behind the poem. The reading will also fill in the gap between "out of key with his time" and " 'the march of events ' " of the opening and concluding quatrains of the poem respectively.

commentators have recognised the obvious references to the review world in the poem. Michael Alexander says that the poem begins "as a kind of *Times Literary Supplement* obituary upon himself . . . ."[6] Peter Brooker[7] also identifies two reviews of Pound's poetry which the latter could be mocking in the poem.

Thus it is that when Leavis reads the line as "when life slipped by," Pound could well be meaning just the reverse for E.P., that is, E.P. was moving on in his quest for unexplored literary worlds while the establishment around him was static and sticking to the narrow confines of its own prescriptions.

NOTES

1. T. S. Eliot, ed., *Ezra Pound : Selected Poems* (London : Faber and Faber, 1928), p. 173.
2. Brief extracts from important critics trying to read the components of the complex Ulysses image are as follows : *Penelope* (=Flaubert)="the aesthetic : his (E. P.'s) main concern has been art as represented by Flaubert, saint matyr of the artistic conscience" [F. R. Leavis, *New Bearings in English Poetry* (1932; rpt. London : Chatto and Windus, [1950), P. 141]; "patron saint of aestheticism," [G. S. Fraser, *Ezra Pound* (Edinburgh : Oliver and Boyd Ltd., 1960), p. 53)]? "the true classicism of modern art;" [M. L. Rosenthal, *A Primer of Ezra Pound* (New York;

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Macmillan, 1960), p. 34)]; "ideal of disciplined self-immolation from which English Poetry has too long been estranged;" [Hugh Kenner, *The Poetry of Ezra Pound* (New York : Kraus Reprint Co., 1974; rpt., 1951)], p. 170, also Donald Davie, "Ezra Pound's 'Hugh Selwyn Mauberley'," *The Modern Age* [(Pelican Guide to English Literature, 1961), p. 320]; "effort to expose the stupidity of accepted ideas. .. .." (John Espey, *Ezra Poud's Mauberly* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1955), p. 85]; *Obstinste isles*="inveterate eclectcism;" (Leavis, *New Bearings*, p. 142); "islands of pleasure;" (Fraser, p. 53); "British isles" (Kenner, p. 170); *Circe's hair*, = "aesthetic discrimination and technical perfection;" (Leavis, p. 142); "hedonistic aesthetic attitude to female beauty;" (Fraser, p. 53); "siren-song"/"epic aspiration" of Pound; (Davie, p. 319); "beauty for itself however dangerous . . ." (Espey, p. 85).

3. Fraser, p. 53.
4. Leavis, p. 142.
5. D.D. Page, ed., *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound* (London; Faber and Faber, 1971), p. 114.
6. Michael Alexander, *The Poetic Achievement of Ezra Pound* (Berkeley : Univ. of California Press, 1979), p. 15.
7. Peter Brooker, *Student's Guide to Selected Poems of Ezra Pound* (Landon : Faber and Faber, 1979), p. 188. But more than these reviews, Wallace Rice's letter to *The Dial*, seems to be echoed in this mock-epitaph. Wallace Rice wrote "But Mr. Pound may be left to the court of appeal the years will hale him before, if he survive" . . . [Eric Homberger, *Ezra Pound, The Critical Heritage* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London and Boston, 1972), p. 105]. These lines have their effects on "the case presents/No adjunct to the Muses' diadem."

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LA VEINE ROMANTIQUE CHEZ MARCEL PAGNOL

par S. Jathaul

"La société voyez-vous, monsieur si elle continue, elle tuera les justes" (Paroles d'un garçon coiffeur citées par Pagnol.)

De nos jours, la critique tient Pagnol pour l'auteur dramatique le plus universellement joué, et pour l'un des maîtres du septième art. Ses oeuvres théâtrales at cinématographiques sont â l'honneur dans nombre d'universités américaines, alors que ses recueils de souvenirs sont lus, comme les Fables de La Fontaine, par des milliers at des milliers d'enfants d'école en France et dans le monde. Marcel Pagnol, né en 1895 à Aubagne, petite ville des environs de Marseille, a accompli un travail sur sa Provence natale qui fait penser á celui réalisé par Mulk Raj Anand sur le Pendjab. Il nous a légué dans son oeuvre une série de personnages, Topaze, Marius. César, Fanny, Panisse, qui sont aussi vivants dans les mémoires que Panurge, Tartufe, Figaro, Candide.

D'une origine matériellement modeste, Marcel Pagnol se destina d'abord â l'enseignement. Il fut nommé professeur adjoint au Lycéé d'Aix-en-Provence, puis â Marseille, et enfin â Paris au Lycéé Condorcet. Sa premiére piéce publiée est *Catulle*, drame en vers (1920), dont le genre même trahit une survivance trop littèrale du romantisme. Par la suite, la tendance au romantisme devait s'affaiblir, suivant l'exemple de Paul Valéry, André Breton, Louis Aragon, qui portèrent les coups les plus durs â ce genre dès les années 20.

Dans *Les Marchands de gloire* (1925), pièce écrite en collaboration avec Paul Nivoix qu'il avait connu á Marseille, Pagnol s'interroge sur les relations entre la politique et la morale. Bachelet est un honnête fonctionnaire. Son fils unique est parti à la guerre. Pour que ce dernier puisse regagner le foyer paternel, Bachelet consent à monter un coup avec un chevalier d'industrie nommé Berlureau. Petit á petit, il devient une canaille, lui aussi, et se met à exploiter la gloire de son fils, réputé mort

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au champ d'honneur, mais qui est en fait toujours vivant. L'un des personnagesen demande à un autre : "Ne crains-tu pas que le culte des héros ne soit', en certains cas, le culte déguisé de la guerre ?"

Bachelet et Berlureau annoncent déjà Topaze.

La deuxième oeuvre notable de Pagnol, *Jazz* (1926), nous présente ce probe professeur d'université, Blaise, qui est le vrai type de l érudit. Vingt ans durant, il s'èchine à un manuscrit grec, sur lequel repose toute son autorité et toute sa gloire. Puis, soudain, il découvre qu'il est dans le faux. Cherchant á rattraper le temps perdu, il va jusqu'à demander à une jeune fille de l'èpouser, en l'occurence, une de ses élèves qui s'appelle Cécile. Voici Comment il s'y prend.

BLAISE

Vous êtes pauvre.

CECILE

L argent ne fait pas le bonheur.

BLAISE

Oui, et le travail, c'est la liberté . . .

Ne croyez pas à ces mensonges; ce sont des riches qui les ont inventés. (1)

La grande force de Pagnol. c'est de voir l'homme tel qu'il est, et non tel qu'on voudrait qu'il soit. Il y a cependant une note personnelle dans cette pièce, vu qu'il abandonna l'enseignement l'annéee suivante.

L'oeuvre qui fit connaître Pagnol au Parisiens, aux Français et au monde entier, ce fut *Topaze* (1928), pièce en quatre actes, et qui fut présentéepour la première fois à Paris, le mercredi 9 octobre de cette année, sur la scène des "Variétés". Cette pièce est une illustration de sa jolie formule, "on est faible quand on est pur". Le personnage principal est un ancêtre du *Naif aux 40 enfants.* Il fait la bête pendant un temps. mais, le moment venu, il tire le tapis sous les pieds des gens qui se jouaient de lui.

Du coup, il renverse les situations et assume sa pleine valeur d'homme. Enfin la chance, la vie lui sourient. Il révèle alors le secret du succès à son ancien collègue :

Ah ! l'argent . . . Tu n'en connais pas la valeur . . . Mais

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ouvre les yeux, regarde la vie, regarde tes contemporains . . . L'argent peut tout . . . Si je veux une maison moderne, une fausse dent invisible, la permission de faire gras le vendredi, mon éloge dans les journaux ou une femme dans mon lit, l'obtiendrai-je par des prières, le dévoument, on la vertu ? Il ne faut qu'entrouvrir ce coffre et dire un petit mot :" Combien ?" (*Il a pris dans le coffre une liasse de billets de banque.*) Regarde ces billets de banque, ils peuvent tenir dans ma poche, mais ils prendront la force et la couleur de mon désir. Confort, beauté, santé, amour honneur, puissance, je tiens tout cela dans mes mains . . . Tu t'effares, mon pauvre Tamise, mais je vais te dire un secret : malgré les rêveurs, malgré les poétes et peut-être malgré mon coeur, j'ai appris la grande leçon : Tamise, les hommes ne sont pas bons. C'est la force qui gouverne le monde, et ces petits rectangles de papier bruissant, voilà la forme moderne de la force. (2)

L'étonnant succés de cette piéce boulevardière qui sera jouée mille fois à Paris, atteste que l'auteur voyait juste, et qu'il voyait cocasse. Il a décrit avec un rare bonheur la société contemporaine qui fait passer l'argent et l'intérêt avant tout. Dans la voix de Topaze, on croit entendre l'accent de Pagnol, ce Pagnol qui connut une période de pénurie où les gens étaient radins et faisaient une économie de bouts de chandelle. Quant à son sarcasme ou son outrance, cela implique une volonté de ne plus être dupe des convenances bourgeoises, derriére lesquelles manoeuvrent des intérêts et des ambitions.

Avec *Marius*, que Pagnol fit jouer en 1929, suivi de *Fanny* (1931), César (1934), la voie au néo-réalisme était ouverte. Cette trilogie est essentiellement une évocation pittoresque et attendrie des moeur marseillaises, mais elle est aussi une études sérieuse, perfois sévère et grimaçante, du monde et de la société. L'auteur prètend que "L' universel, on l'atteint en restant chez soi". A force de marier le lyrisme à l'esprit critique, la fantaisie à l'observation lucide, il fait jaillir le beau et le vrai avec plus de force que n'aurait permis une imitation plate de la vie. Voici le patron du bar de la Marine au Vieux Port, qui expose ses difficultés sur la religion :

CESAR

Je veux dire que je connais des musulmans, des Hindous, des Chinois, des nègres. Leur Bon Dieu, ce n'est pas le même, et

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ils ne font pas comme nous ! . . . Nous, nous avons des péchés que chez eux c'est une bonne action, et vice versa . . . Peut-être qu'ils ont tort, remarquez bien . . . Seulement ils sont des millions de milliasses . . . S'ils avaient raison, Monsieur Brun ?

M. BRUN

Il est certain que la question peut se poser.

CESAR

Le pauvre Honoré est tout préparé, bien au au goût du Bon Dieu d' Elzéar. Et si, on arrivant au coin d'un nuage, il se trouve en face d'un Bon Dieu à qui on ne l'a jamais présenté ? Un Bon Dieur noir, ou jaune, ou rouge ? Ou un de ces Bons Dieux habillés en guignol, comme on en voit chez l'antiquaire, ou celui qui a le gros ventre ? Ou bien celui qui a autant de bras qu'une esquinade ? Le pauvre Panisse qu'est-ce qu'il va lui dire ? En quelle langue ? Avec quels gestes? (A Escartefigue) Tu te vois, toi, déjá fatigué par ta mort, et tout vertigineux de ton voyage, en train de t'expliquer avec un Dieu qui ne te camprends pas ? Et tu as beau lui faire des priéres il te dit : "Quoi ? Comment ? Qu'est-ce que vous dites ?" Et il te le dit en chinois ? (3)

Il semble à certains indices que Pagnol fait le procès à la société contemporaine. Tel est le cas par example de *La Femme du boulanger* (1938), ou de *La Fille du puisatier* (1941). Ces oeuvres sont une dérision véhémente de l'ordre social. Dans la première, il a brodé un dialogue joliment insolent entre le curé intransigeant et le marquis bon vivant qui cohabite avec plusieurs femmes :

LE MARQUIS

Oh ! monsieur le Curé, ce sont mes nièces !

LE CURE

Vous oubliez que je suis votre confesseur.

LE MARQUIS

Si vous ne l'oubliez pas, vous aussi, toute conversation mondaine est impossible. Je dis à tout le monde que ce sont mes nièces.

LE CURE

Mais personne ne le croit, et l'exemple que vous donnez est treé dangereux.

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LE MARUIS

Non, monsieur le Curé, non, car la débauche n'est pas un péché gratuit; les exemples dangereux, ce sont les exemples à la portée de toutes les bourses; mais les péchés qui exigent des rentes ne peuvent se répandre que chez les rentiers; or nous n'avons ici que des paysans, et contre les dangers de mon exemple, la Pauvreté leur tient lien de Vertu.

LE CURE

Affreux blasphéme; (4)

Sous le titre anodin de La *Femme du boulanger*, il a peint en pleine pâte l'image d'un homme habité par uu grand amour et qui se dêfait parce que l'objet de cet amour est parti. Lui, il a plus de quarants ans, alors qu'elle en a vingt; d'où problèmes. Dans la bouche de ses personnages, qui échangent des bouffonneries énormes et pourtant fines, Pagnol remet en cause la relation de l'homme avec Dieu, la société, son âme. Persuadé que la vraie morale se moque de la morale, il a su faire authentique en faisant comique, grâce à une compréhension plus large et moins pudibonde de l'adultère.

On est quand même rassuré d'y voir que "I'amour . . . va á la la jeunesse, selon la bonne, la saine loi de nature" (LANSON)

Pagnol dénonce, avec indignation, les ravages faits par l'intérêt et Pargent dans un modeste ménage, surtout dans *La Fille du puisatier* On y voit des gens de bien, pénétrés de leur respectabilité et qui seront démasqués par le puisatier, A ses yeux, ce ne sont que des "salauds". Cette oeuvre reçut un accueil délirant.

Quand Pagnol sera élu â l'Académie Française, en 1946, il aura déjà fait passer à l'ècran la plupart de ses ouevres, dont *Topaze*, la fameuses trilogie d'histoires marseillaises. On voit un charme discret du *moi* à des films comme *La Femme du boulanger* ("le plus beau film que j.'aie vu", disait Oson Welles); *La Fille du puisatier*, *Angèle*. Pa la suite, le premier Académicien du cinèma qui apportait un souffle nouveau à ce genre, en tourna d'autres, notamment; *La belle meunière* (1948), *Topaze* (avec Fernandel), *Manon des sources* (1952), *Les Lettres de mon moulin*, d'après Daudet (1954). Le plus grand succès, ce fut *Manon des sources*, dont le scénario sera publié en 1963, dans le roman intitulé : *L' Eau des collines* (I. *Jean de Florette*-II. *Manon des sources*). Pagnol fit paraitre ses délicieux *Souvenirs d'enfance* à partir de 1957 : *La Gloire de mon père*

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Le Châteteau de ma mére, Le Temps des secrets. On dirait qu'une veine sentimentale et quasi bucolique court à travers l'oeuvre de Pagnol. 11 est mort à Paris le 18 avril 1974. Sa tombe qui se trouve à La Treille, porte l'inscription suivante empruntée á ce poète latin, Virgile, qu'il récitait avce l'accent du Midi.

FONTES AMICOS, UXOREM, DILEXIT

("Il a aimé les sources, ses amis, sa femme")

Concluons que le génie de Pagnol fut plus réaliste que romantique. S'étant lancé dans la course au modernisme, il voyait plus clair et alla plus loin que la plupart de ses contemporains.

NOTES

1. Marcel PAGNOL, *Jazz*, Editions Presses-Pocket, 1976, P. 122,
2. *Id.*, *Topaze*, même éd, 1976, P. 268-269.
3. *Id.*, *César*, même éd., p. 49.
4. *Id.*, *La Femme du boulanger*, même éd., 1976, P. 52-53.

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MANIFESTATION OF SOCIAL HIERARCHY AND CASTE IDENTITY THROUGH LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR

D. D. Sharma

The study of socio-linguistics involves several social aspects of a speech community vis-a-vis its speech behaviour. But in this paper I shall discuss only a few of the linguistic codes of Kumauni speech community which may be termed as 'markers of social hierarchy and caste identification'. The linguistic codes selected for this purpose are modes and terms of address and greetings, to be taken up in that order.

Modes of Address : Modes and terms of address are an indispensable part of the socio-linguistic behaviour of any speech community. These, besides the interpersonal relations of the interlocutors, also indicate the social status of the addresser vis-a-vis the addressee. Moreover, in a given speech community there may be a number of terms in vogue to serve this purpose; but the use of a particular mode and term, from the total set of terms available to the addresser, differs from context to context and is strictly regulated by the social norms of the speech community in question, i.e. in this matter one is not free to choose any one out of the total range of them available to him/her.

So far as the range of modes and terms of address is concerned there may be many, such as interjections, second person pronouns, kinship terms and personal names, including nicknames family petnames, diminutive first names, surnames, or titles indicative of the vocation of the addressee, etc. But here we shall confine ourselves to those modes and terms of address only which are indicative of the social hierarchy and caste identity of both the addresser and the addressee.

It is well-known that the use of kinship terms as a mode of address too is indicative of the social hierarchy of the dyads in a given speech community, but its sphere is limited to the kin web only. Its extension beyond this is still more limited, whereas the scope of the

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non-kin type address terms is unlimited. But like the use of kin terms, their use, too, is strictly regulated by the social norms set forth by the given speech community. In Kumauni speech community the major consideration in their use is the relative status of the addresser and the addressee in terms of caste hierarchy or socio-economic position in the social orbit.

In this speech community there are five types of address terms which can be used with reference to non-kin addressee under different social settings and relative social status of the interlocutors. These may be categorised as under :

1. Use of first name (FN) of the addressee.
2. Use of last name (LN)+Hon. term (HT) of addressee.
3. Use of title or an epithetic term+HT.
4. Use FN+Kin term (Condensed+shortened).
5. Use of a non-specific general term.

The first four of these address forms pertain to familiar or intimate dyads and the last one to non-intimate or un-familiar dyads.

Use of First Name : In the social hierarchy of Kumaun the Brahmans belonging to priestly (*purohit*) class or to the formerly ministerial (*dīwān*) families are at the top of it. An addresser belonging to any of these classes, usually, uses the first name of the addressee belonging to any other social category, Brahman or non-Brahman, age difference being no consideration. In this matter the only consideration that can be shown towards the addressee is this that the FN is changed to a hypo-coristic form if the addressee has no social position and it is fully maintained if he has any (e.g. O Nariya, O Narian Datt). However, the FN of an addressee belonging to scheduled caste is invariably used in its hypo—coristic form. Infact, an interlocutor belonging to this stratum of the society receives this type of treatment from all addressers belonging to higher strata of society, Brahman or non-Brahman. Thus, from the socio-linguistic point of view the omission of the second component of the full name and suffixation of *-iyā/uwā* to the first component suggests that the person is younger in age or lower in social status or is being held contemptuously, as in O Ramiya ! O Ramuwa, O Ram Datt, Ram Singh ; O Pania ! O Panua, O Pan Ram ! O Pan Singh ! O Pandev !

Use of Last Name (LN)+Honorific term : In the highly stratified Kumauni society there are certain norms of address which have

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assumed a ritualistic sanctity. The address patterns LN+appropriate honorific term is followed in an intimate speech situation in which the speaker belongs to lower strata of society and the addressee to higher strata. For instance, all high caste Brahmans, priest or non-priest, are addressed with their sub-caste name followed by *jyu*, the honorific term, as in *tyaṛijyu* (Mr. Tewari), *Paṇjyu* (Mr. Pant), *Jweśijyu* (Mr. Joshi), *Paṇḍejyu* (Mr. Pandey), etc. But no such practice is attested with regard to persons belonging to other castes.

Use of caste titles or epithets : The title to be used as a term of address can be a general term associated with caste or profession. In this case the determining factor is not the caste hierarchy, but the socio-economic status or the genral category of the addressee. The general address term for a Brahman belonging to a higher caste or the priestly class is *guru* and for a Brahman belonging to any other category is *paṇḍitjyu*, if the addresser belongs to a lower caste than the Brahman. In this connection it may also be mentioned here that in Kumaun a teacher, may be belonging to any caste or strata of the society is addressed as *paṇḍitjyu*. It is became in the past the right to impart education was in the hands of Brahman class only. The genral term for a respectable Ksatraya is *Ṭhakur saib* or *Thakdār saib* (if he or his ancestors held this title), and for a person belonging to the trader class *laljyu/saib* or *shaujyū*, if he is from Shah (Pahari trader) family. The general term of address for an artisan is *mistri*, devoid of any honorific epithet. Till recently, all scheduled caste people used to address all caste Hindus as *guśain* (m), *guśyani* (f.) which means 'master' or 'mistress'. Upper class ladies were also addessed as *baurāṇijyu* by all low caste men and women.

The address terms falling under this category are indicative of a high degree of reverence towards the addressee. Moreover, an interlocutor belonging to the priestly class has the privilege to address all the interlocutors belonging to non-priestly class as *jajmān*, though this term specifically denotes the 'Khasas' as well. Though now the practice is fading away, yet till a few decades back the Khasas and all low caste people used to address a Brahman as *Bāmanjyu* (O Brahman Sir).

Non-specific General Terms : In Kumauni there are no general terms like in Hindi to address a non-intimate non-kin feminine interlocutor as *bahinji* for any woman of young age, and as *mātāji* for any elderly woman, as is used in the plains of north India irrespective

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of social differences. However, in a formal speech situation the term *didi* for a woman of mature age, or *āmā* (grand-mother) or *burjyu* (old madam) for a woman of fairly advanced age can be used by a stranger. The term *burjyu* is a term which can be used as a term of address for both the sexes. The common term for a child is *bhau* (Skt. *bhrātaḥ*) without any sex distinction.

There is no general term, like Hindi *bhāi sāhab*, for calling attention of a stranger. The general term for addressing a gentleman is *babusahaib*=(*bābū sāhib*) which is a borrowed one.

To draw the attention of a stranger the usual way to address him is to say—*oho mhārāj*, (O Sir) or just an attention calling term, *hān hau* (well sir), etc.

Use of FN+KT (Socio-Centric) : In the rural setting of Kumaun, till the politics of election entered there, intercaste relations were very cordial, caste rivalries were almost unknown. In speech behaviour kin terms were freely extended to acquintances and intimately known persons, even if they belonged to different castes and different strata of society.

In such a speech context the kin terms used for non-kins are, usually, those that form the part of the terminology for senior consanguinal kins. The only criterion for selection of one or the other term is the age and sex of the addressee. The notable distinction of this extension, as compared with the use of normal kin term, is this that in such a situation the kin term, in its shortened form, is appended to the condensed FN of the addressee. For instance, *Ghandā=Ghanānand dādā, Tardā=Tārādatt/Tārā Singh dādā, Chanulidi=Chandrāvatī dīdī, Debulidi=Devakī Devī dīdī, Bisankā=Vishnu Datt/Bishan Singh Kākā.* The scope of extension for this type of address terms is limited to terms standing for brother, sister and uncle only.

Social restriction on the use of kin terms as address terms : It may be pointed out here that this type of socio-linguistic behaviour has its roots and gets nourishment in a rural setting only. There, too, this extension of social courtesy is confined to the middle class or lower middle class agriculturist populace, both Brahmans and Rajputs, only. The uppermost stratum of the social hierarchy does not encourage this sort of fictive kinship, and voluntarily keeps itself away from this social confederation and the lowermost is kept at a distance by this confederation, i.e. the high caste Kumauni Brahmans, particularly belonging to the priestly class, do not like or encourage extension of

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this type of social intimacy, and the same attitude, though less rigorously, is exhibited by the middle class community towards the low caste communities. Customarily, the priestly class used to address all other interlocutors, including agriculturist Brahmans, by their first name, even if the addressee was of the age of his parents or grand parents. The same was the case with lower caste addressee as well. Even in rural settings where people belonging to different castes have lived together for generations, there too development of social courtesies of addressing each other with kin terms is not commonly attested. But now on account of significant socio-economic changes there is a perceptible change in the earlier situation, though the deep rooted and inherent sense of social superiority still persists there.

Pronouns of Address : Kumauni has only two pronouns of address, viz, *tu* 'thou' and *tum* 'you' (which stands for plural number as well). Socio-linguistically the former may be termed as non-honorific and the latter as honorific. Basically, Kumauni has no formal honorific term like Hindi *āp*, but educated or urbanized Kumaunis, in formal speech situations, have adopted the use of an honorific term *āpun*, a borrowing from Hindi.

The honorific form, besides reverence also expresses a sense of formality and non-intimate relationship, whereas the reciprocal use of non-honorific form is indicative of equality and increased intimacy. The non-reciprocal use of the honorific term in which one of the dyads uses the honorific term and the other the non-honorific term is attested among interlocutors having unequal social status. All the senior kins are addressed as *tum* and all junior kins as *tu*.

In a non-kin context the main determiner of the use of honorific and non-honorific is the socio-economic status of the addressee, determined by his/her wealth, descent, education, occupation (including official position), caste, age and sex. In the caste hierarchy an interlocutor belonging to a higher-caste than that of the speaker is invariably addressed with honorific term, irrespective of his/her age and sex, and the one belonging to the lower caste by non-honorific term. The same is the pattern with regard to the higher and lower socio-economic status of interlocutors. However, in a situation where one of the interlocutors belongs to a higher status in terms of caste hierarchy and the other in terms of official/socio-economic position there both the dyads resort to the use of honorific terms for each other.

Modes of Greetings : Like address, greeting too is an integral part of the socio-linguistic behaviour of a speech community and as in

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terms of address, in terms of a greetings and benediction too, the choice of words and phrases is entirely conditioned by the social norms set forth by the speech community concerned. These forms not only indicate the social relationship between the dyads but also clearly betray the social status of the person offering greetings and of the person receiving it. In Kumauni it is nearly impossible to greet a person without indicating the social position/relationship vis-a-vis the person offering greetings and the person receiving it. Infact, the very verbal behaviour of greeting is enough to indicate, besides the social status, the caste, the age and sex of dyads.

Greeting or salutation is an integral part of Kumauni culture but, as in address forms, in greetings forms too, appropriate selection of them has an important bearing on social etiquettes. Any impropriety on this account is considered a gross misbehaviour on the part of the speaker. Therefore, selection of right term from the set of terms available in the language is necessary for a socially acceptable linguistic communication. A proper analysis of these terms gives an insight to understand the social structure of this community as a whole. In this paper first we shall analyse the old traditional pattern and then the changing pattern.

Patterns of greetings: In Kamauni there are specific terms of greetings which are to be used with reference to the interlocutor belong to one's own castes or to a caste which is higher or lower to his caste. A close analysis of various forms of salutations and benedictions of traditional pattern in Kumauni attests two broad patterns of it, similar to those attested in address forms viz. Reciprocal and Non-reciprocal.

Reciprocal Pattern : In this context reciprocal means use of identical term by both the participants. In the social setting of Kumauni this form of greeting takes place only when both dyads belong to the same caste category. From this point of view the traditional four castes of Hindu social organization have been grouped as caste Hindus (Bith), non-caste Hindus (Bairshua/shilpkar). The former group has a further sub-division, viz. Brahman, non-Brahman (Rajputs, Khasas and Shahs), and each of these three groups comprises large number of subcastes e.g. Brahmans have two stratified categories, viz. Non-agriculturist and agriculturist. The normal verbal behaviour of greeting among Brahmans is to say '*namaskār*' to each other, though the Brahmans belonging to non-agriculturist class some times refrain themselves from returning the

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same term to an agriculturist Brahman, who invariably offers this salutation first, and prefer either to remain silent or to express good wishes as a part of benediction.

The socially sanctioned term of greetings among non-Brahman caste Hindus is to say *Rām Rām* to each other, there being no variation whatsoever. The normal reciprocal term of salutation among 'Shilpkārs' is *namaste*, which is a gift of Arya Samaj movement among scheduled castes. Prior to this the term of greeting was *shyomānyā*.

Besides the above noted groups of caste Hindus, there is, still another group of them which is known as 'Gusain' and is quite independent of the above noted four castes. It has its own constituent units, viz. Giri, Puri and Bharati. The term of greeting of this group is *'Om namo Nārāyaṇ'* which is reciprocated by them while wishing their own Kinsmen and other caste Hindus. In this regard socio-linguistically, the notable point is this that, though in the social hierarchy of Kumaun they are not graded highly, i.e. considered to be lower than *ksyatriyas/ vaishyas*, yet in matters of greetings they are the first to be saluted even by a high caste Brahman. It may be because that in local parlance they are called 'jogis' (hermit or religious mendicant), and Giris used to be 'pujari' (priest) of Shiva temple in the past. Their last rites, too, are performed according to the rites prescribed for 'Sanyasis', though they lead a house holder's life. As such it may be out of regard for their religious life that they receive this prestigious social treatment in the matter of greeting or salutation.

There is one more sect of religious mendicants, known as 'Nāths' or 'Kanphaṭā jogis'. The term of greeting prevalent among them is *om namāḥ Shivāy*. Like the term, *Om namo Nārāyaṇ*, this term too, is reciprocal between all kin and non-kin interlocutors. They, too, on account of their religious life, enjoy the privilege of being greeted first by all caste Hindus.

Any violation of this socially sanctioned linguistic behaviour by any class of speakers was considered a serious social offence in the rural setting of Kamaun. A notable feature of reciprocal terms of greeting or salutation in Kumauni is this that their use is confined to male interlocutors only. Among caste Hindus a female interlocutor does not initiate the use of any of these terms of salutation and does not return it in the same term when used by a male interlocutor to offer his greetings to her.

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In this the normal social etiquette demands that a casteman junior in age or kinship relation should offer his greetings first and the senior interlocutor should return it in the same term, if the difference of seniority and juniority is not much, and it is to be returned in terms of benediction if the age gap is wide enough.

Non-Reciprocal Pattern : This pattern is attested among socially unequal dyads and clearly manifests the social hierarchy involved therein. Unequality may be in terms of caste hierarchy or kinship hierarchy. In this context other factors of unequality such as status (socio-economic or official), age, sex, etc. are not taken into any consideration.

On the ladder of caste hierarchy a Brahman stands at the top of it. But among Brahmans too, the Brahmans belonging to the priestly class are the topmost one. In their case the reciprocity of the salutation term, *namaskār*, is valid for their own class only. In their estimation the Brahmans belonging to middle class society or agriculturist class are inferior ones. As such they do not deserve to be responded in the same term of salutation. Consequently, in such a linguistic situation the normal behaviour of linguistic response to the term *namaskār*, offered by a Brahman belonging to the lower strata, is the use of certain benedictory phrases, such as *Kalyāṇamastu* 'be good luck to you', etc.

The term of salutation to be used by a non-Brahman caste Hindu towards a Brahman of any category is *pailāgo* (I touch your feet) and the normal term of response is '*āshīrvād*' (Blessings) or in the case of a priestly Brahman it may be *kalyāṇamastu* or something like that. And the term salutation to be offered by a scheduled caste speaker to a caste Hindu is '*shyomānyā*' (please accept my services). In this case he/she may or may not get a response in terms of benediction, or the benedictory term, *ji rae* (live long).

The most interesting aspect of this stratification and caste hierarchy is this that the person belonging to lower strata of society or caste hierarchy is to offer his salutation first to the interlocutor belonging to a higher ladder, irrespective of his age, sometimes the age gap is as wide as between a grand-son and a grand-father. Consequently, a non-Brahman caste Hindu of eighty years of age would say *pailāgo* (I touch your feet) to a ten year old boy of priestly class or of any Brahman class. The same is the case with a low caste interlocutor who would say *shyomānyā* to any caste Hindu of any age.

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At the level of kinship hierarchy a junior kin offers his salutations to a senior kin, male or female, in a term which is conventionally used by interlocutors of his caste as reciprocal term of greeting, but the response that he gets in return is in terms of benediction. The benedictory phrase which is used in such a situation, is, usually, worded as *jirae* (live long), *bachi rae* (may you live long/may you remain alive), *chiranjib/dīrghāyu/dīrghāe* (May you live long/may you have long life).

In all these speech situations the initiative is invariably taken by the inferior interlocutor and the superior responds in any form indicated above.

The verbal behaviour of an interlocutor, offering salutation, also changes according to intimate and non-intimate speech situations, i.e. with reference to a kin the very term of greeting is enough to have a response from the senior kin, but in a non-kin context or in a non-intimate situation use of respective address term alongwith the term of salutation is normal convention. In the latter type, however, the term of address precedes the term of salutation when the question of higher reverence is involved as in *gurū namaskār* (a lower status Brahman to a higher status Brahman), *Thākur saib rām rām, shaujyu rām rām* (between Thakurs and Shahs) *Gusain shyomānyā* (a Shilpkar greeting to any caste Hindu), *Bābu saib jai hind,* etc. The social hierarchy is also indicated by the use of the subcaste or the first name of the person greeted along with the term of greeting. For instance, in case of a high caste Brahman it is only the caste name that can be used with the term of greeting but in case of other it can be his first name as well, e.g. *namaskār jweshiju, rām rām ho ramdā, pailago ho khimdā* (=Khimānand dādā), *shyomānyā gusain/panḍitjyu baurani jyu* etc.

The are different modes of greetings among female interlocutors. The most common form of offering greetings between female interlocutors of equal status is firstly to bend to touch the feet of each other and then to offer an affectionate embrace to each other. But when offering greetings to a female or male of a Brahman class or a senior kinsman one simply touches the feet or the senior or superior dyad and in response of it is blessed with appropriate terms of blessings, e.g an unmarried girl will be blessed as *jirae/bachirae/dirghāyu* etc. and a married woman, with a living husband, will be blessed as *saubhāgya vatī bhava/suhāgavantī* (May you be Suhagin) or a widow as *dharmavatī/vishnuvratvatī bhava* (be the observer of 'dharma', may you be a divotee of Vishṇu) etc.

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Touching of feet by a woman is technically known as (*ḍhok dino*/ *khuṭanparno* (to salute, to fall at the feet). In this act they do not follow any verbal behaviour, i.e. do not utter any word of greeting, although enquiry of the welfare of the person so greeted, as indicated above, is a part of it.

Changing Pattern : Now, after independence, on account of multidimensional socio-economic changes taking place in the region, caste barriers are giving way to changed social attitudes. The exclusive privileges of higher education and governmental services and other respectable professions are being shared by all classes of the populace. The low caste people, on account of special privileges extended to them, are occupying various kinds of positions both in public and private sectors. Similar is the case with other classes of caste-Hindus who had so far been looked down as inferior by high caste people. The practice of untouchability and taboos about food habits have almost disappeared from urbanised areas and in rural areas, too, it is confined to the sphere of eating and drinking only. All these changes, have consequently, brought about a change in the social position of the people who had lower status in the ealier social hierarchy. And this change is, now, obviously affecting the traditional patterns of greeting and address as well in the tradition ridden Kumauni society. As a result of this, the exclusive caste criterion of social superiority and inferiority is giving way to the criterion of politico-economic status. As such an interlocutor, otherwise belonging to a low caste or an inferior class but holding politico-economically a higher position is addressed with an honorific term and is also greeted first. In urban societies the exclusive right of the use of the term *namaskār* by Brahmans is being freely used by other caste Hindus as well. Among scheduled cáste speakers besides *namaste*, the national greeting term *jai Hind* also has gained popularity. The greeting term *shyomānyā* has become a thing of past. Besides, now a low caste interlocutor with an official position can afford to use the non-honorific term of address for a caste Hindu and is also to receive greetings first from him. The same is the position among other classes who otherwise were considered inferior in caste hierarchy and were obliged to offer greetings first in specific terms and modes. But in a Kumauni locale, so far as other sections are concerned, the old pattern of greetings still persists in a considerable degree.

Besides the above, the first name of a male individual is also an indicator of his caste and creed.

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Conclusion: The above analyses of terms of address, greetings and benedictions clearly brings out that in Kumauni they are the clear indicators of the social status and caste hierarchy of the interlocutors and also give an insight to understand the complicated social structure of the speakers of this language. Perhaps there is no other language in the pale of Indo-Aryan in which the inner structure of the society is so clearly reflected in terms of address and greetings as in it. In short, there the linguistic behaviour alone is enough to symbolise the hierarchical structure of this society and a non-speaker of Kumauni has to be cautious enough in the use of these terms. Even now, in the rural setting an improper use of a term of greeting is sure to arouse indignation or invite displeasure from the addressee or even may lead to undesirable consequences.

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PUNJABI QISSA : ITS CONCERN IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

M. P. Bhardwaj

1. **Statement of the Problem :** Qissa in Punjabi is a narrative in verses which includes from a simple story in a few pages like 'Mirza-Sahiban' of Hafiz Barkhurdar to a voluminous work of a few hundred pages like 'Heer' of Varis, or, 'Saiful Maluk' of Mohd. Bakhsh. These works are akin to ballads or romances composed during the medieval period. The predominant concern of a qissa is to narrate a story. Insistence on story-telling, alone, however, is primarily the concern of folk and folk-tradition in any society. And folk or plebian gets opportunity enough to give expression to his feelings only when the classical social order becomes decadent, and when there is upsurge and renaissance of the masses. It may be interesting to note that Punjabi qissa blossomed at a similar transitional phase in Punjabi society and Punjabi literature. It may also be underlined that this concern with narrative poetry has been identical in all the languages and literatures in Europe, Arabia, Persia and India during the medieval period. Through this paper an effort has been made to underscore the socio-psychological factors responsible for this folk-renaissance and the resultant flowering of popular romantic narratives in the entire old world in general and in India in particular, with special reference to Punjab and Punjabi literature.

2. **Qissa : The term and the Concept**

Qissa word is of Arabic origin. It does not occur in Holy Quran, but its derivatives—'Quasas', 'Qusihi' and 'Quassa' have been used to mean—to follow, to search out, to express, etc.[1] In later Arabic and Persian lexicons word 'Qas' means to follow in the footsteps of, and, to cut with a pair of scissors. Word 'Quissa' means a dainty dish besides a thing, a saying, a narrative, a story, a fable, a fairy-tale, a romance, etc. In the same context 'Quissa-Khwani' means to narrate a story, whereas 'Quissa-Go' means a story-teller.[2] 'Quissa-Zarafiya', 'Quiss-Khyalia' and 'Quissa-Sheriya' mean a fable, a tale and a ballad respectively.[3] In the

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later lexicons 'Quas' is stated to be a narrator of religious stories, whose liberty to manipulate with the original story is sure to invite the wrath or displeasure of the Almighty.[4] These and a number of such references in Arabic and Persian lexicon and also in religious and secular literature indicate the use of word 'Quissa' to denote a narrative or narrative-based literary form.

In Punjabi literature the usage of this term for narrative or story-based works seems to be a direct adaptation from Arabic and Persian. It can well be presumed that the existence of a popular literary form in Punjabi similar to Arabic and Persian Qissas prompted the new-comer Muslims to India to christian this flourishing folk literary genre as qissa. Prominent Punjabi scholars are unanimous in accepting this term for the medieval verse-narrative composed in Punjabi.[5]

Gopal Singh classifies qissa in two categories—small narratives based on legendary, imaginary, miraculous, supernatural and folk-elements; and popular stories of real-life infatuation, attraction, passionate love and romantic feelings, and their resultant separation and torture, etc. These latter works are stated to be in the elitist ornate poetic style.[6] This seems to be a little over-simplification because simpler and shorter narratives based on love and romance are also available in Punjabi in much larger number. Similarly, such heavier and complex poetic works that deal with legendary and supernatural elements but do not have love as their main motif, are also extant. To name only a few, qissas of 'Roop-Basant' and 'Haqiqat Rai' fall in this latter category.

Surinder Singh Kohli says that every qissa deals with a romantic pair and it should essentially be tragic.[7] Scholar here seems to be concerned with a handful of ornate romantic qissas of 'Heer', 'Sassi', 'Sohni', 'Sahiban', etc. These form, without any doubt, precious treasure of medieval Punjabi literature, but this insistence about essential tragic conclusion forecloses the admission within Punjabi literature to hundreds of qissas based on mythological, legendary, imaginary, supernatural and chivalarous elements.

Defining qissas in a much broader perspective Parminder Singh and Kirpal Singh Kasel term it as a love story based on supernatural and uncommon romantic infatuation. The popularity of such works stated to rest on extraordinary events and idealistic sacrifices made by the lovers.[8] Social order is the villain and biggest obstacle. Lovers carry on their affairs secretly at times, but they do not hesitate to openly defy

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the social order. They have to confront and fight against the reactionary and dogmatic values and norms of the society. It is through their romantic contents and expression that qissas draw their popularity.[9] The same authors say elsewhere that the love depicted in these qissas is extremely charming, uncommon and supernatural. Idealisation of love and sacrifice make these works extremely popular, famous and respectable. Since supreme sacrifice of this kind is invariably rare, it is quite natural, therefore, that the personalities and related incidents are also uncommon, extraordinary and sublime.[10]

These few references underline the significance of narrative element and free love choice as the two fundamentals of qissas on the bedrock of renaissance of masses. A brief analysis of qissas, based on these two elements in historical context may be pertinent.

Medieval popular resurgence has played significant role in the evolution and development of protestant religions, popular literatures, popular art and language forms and anti-classical faiths and beliefs. A brief reference to this period in historical context may be useful for the present study.

3. Medieval Period

Medieval period started in 7th-8th centuries in the context of ancient cultures of the world and their classical societies. In Indian history medieval tendencies start manifesting with the end of Vardhan empire. According to western history this period spans about 1000 years starting from 700 A.D. to 1700 A.D. In India this may be further extended upto 1900 A.D. This period can be further sub-divided into two parts—Early Medieval Period upto 12th century A.D. and Late Medieval Period upto 19th Century A.D.[11] This classification is not arbitrary, but is based on two distinct and successive tendencies of the period. Early medieval period is associated with the decay of classical value-system, whereas the late medieval period is based on the development of folk or popular religions; folk tendencies; romantic, rebellious, protestant and anti-classical ideas, and individualistic life values.

Evolution of classical social order from the tribal society is considered as a great leap forward in the direction of all-round human development—social, cultural and economic. Division of labour and stratification act as great stimulants for speedy growth and develop-

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ment. But these very factors in their inherent nature nurture the seeds of alienation, antagonism and a deep clevage of separation between a handful of rulers and multitude of ruled masses. In initial stages when kings evolve with the capacities and possibilities of popular heroes and natural leaders, they are regarded by their subjects as centres of collective loyalty and symbols of national prestige.

But in the later periods when this system degenerates into decadent feudal order and depends primarily on the oppressive and brutal armed forces to exploit the ruled masses for the luxury and pleasure of ruling classes, alienation is the natural outcome. Under these circumstances the masses remain hardly concerned as to who is coronated and who is dethroned. They nurture a deep level of apathy, indifference and alienation, if not positive antagonism, not only towards their rulers alone, but towards all other allied leaders in religion, literature and culture also, which also tend to become similarly degenerated and decadent. It is at this point of time that the resurgence of masses against the decadent social order takes form in the entire history of old world. This anti-classic reaction is the most significant land-mark in the later medieval period.

The decay of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity in their classical form is the characteristic of medieval ages. In more positive aspect it is renaissance of the masses, a struggle for their emanicipation. For the classical societies this was a period of great change, destabilization and devaluation. Traditional religious and social order was challenged. Social stratification, discrimination and differentiation faced a challenge.[12] In India this coincided with the establishment of Muslim rule. It was not only the Hindu masses who felt exploited and oppressed by the feudal order, Muslim folk suffered equally under the yoke of despotic Muslim rulers. Both felt much closer and nearer to each other. In this renaissance of the masses common man realised his self and existence through great revolutionaries like Kabir and Guru Nanak Dev. Great medieval saints and reformers like Guru Ravi Dass, Guru Teg Bahadur, Dadu Dayal, Sahjo Bai, Daya Bai, Malook Dass, Dharam Dass and Sunder Dass; and, great Sufi poets like Farid, Jayasi, Manjhan, Kutuban, Shaikh Usman and Bulhe Shah can be termed as tall light houses of this popular revolution in the vast span of northern and north-western India.[13] Great Sufi saints in Persia and Troubodor singers, Druid Priests, French Provencels and Gnostic and Katharist religions in Western Europe played the same

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significant role during almost the same period of world history.[14]

All these great souls express their doubt about classical religion, mythology, morality, social life pattern and even classical gods in their characteristic fashion, thus, infusing the masses with new faith, belief, personality and value system, and providing a new and respectable place for them in the society. Emancipated from the psychological subjugation, resurgent folk is able now to express its lack of faith in and respect for the earlier religious and literary practices also. Enriched by new recognition of its personality and feeling free from the bondage of classical languages, classical poetics and subjugating classical morality, the folk now feels psychologically free to give expression to its simple folk-songs, ballads, and their mental, psychological, religious and mystic experiences through the medium of their simple folk languages and folk forms.[15]

4. Medieval folk resurgence, Narrative Element and Qissa

An inherent insistence and attachment to pure narration and story-telling is always associated with folk and folk-tradition. The facility to use and capacity to preserve the written word and consciousness about the writing style has always been confined to the elitist classes. But these classes are ever obsessed with giving expression through their languages to religious and ritualistic jargon, feudal-classical idealism, elitists arts and pleasures and elaborate but artificial love and beauty. In literary style also they are obsessed with too much ornate, artistic, complicated and effortful expression. This is more true during their decadent phase. Ancient literature in all the classical languages has either been sectarian, religious, highly philosophical and abstract, or, extremely ornate and courtly. Narrative element though also used, but it is always insignificant, unimportant, dormant and only a means to an end. Pure narratives have never been acceptable in classical literary tradition. Sanskrit classification of literary forms do not carry any place for pure narrative. Narratives have, however, been the most popular works in India, having won recognition and deeply influenced world literature.[16] 'Panchatantra' is the most translated of the secular literature in the world. If religious and sectarian literature is also considered it happens to be next to Bible only.[17] Narrative element in Vedic, Puranic Sanskrit literature has always been secondary and a means for the sectarian or ornate expression.[18] Prakrit and Apabhramsha narrative literatures though highly indebted to Folk tradition and folk elements have also been primarily used for

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sectarian exposition.[19] In Punjabi and other Indian languages also this obsession with elitist expectations is evident while discussing narrative literature. In literary histories, lighter and simpler works that tend to narrate only a story deserve no mention. Whenever referred, these are termed as inferior, profane, unrefined, crude, base and rustic for the simple reason that they lack elitist objectives like feudal idealism, ornate expression style and religio-sectarian message. Extent Punjabi Qissas are roughly estimated to number between 700 and 1000. But only about a dozen such works of Damodar, Peelu, Varis, Muqbal, Hashim, Fazal Shah, Mohd. Bakhsh, Ahmadyar and Kadiryar have attracted the attention and care of contemporary Punjabi scholars and critics, that adopt conventional poetic style, ornate expression and some sort of idealistic insistence. It is, however, easily forgotten that it is the simpler, cheaper and profane works which have been responsible through their popular demand for creating the requisite sensibility and commercial demand for the heavier and ornate qissas also for which we feel a sense of pride and elation.

The situation with regard to pure narrative literature was no better in medieval Europe also. Ballads were not accepted in literary classification. Ornate romances, that immediately followed in line, were reluctantly accepted and tolerated, but never rated as good literature. In modern times also Novel is genuinely referred to as the Epic of Middle classes—not high classes. It was only by the end of 18th century that it could win recognition as a higher literary form. Short-story had to wait for this recognition till the beginning of 19th century. Pre-occupied with dramas and epics, both literary genre of classical-feudal orientation, novels have been rated as inferior and baser works which could encourage profanity and immorality.

This fact, however, needs hardly any emphasis that recognition or no recognition, narratives have always been extremely popular. In historical perspective it may be noted that though always extent in the form of Fables, tales and folk-narratives in every country and in almost every period, this category of literature gained written form, full recognition and flourished whenever and wherever the folk reacted against the decadent classical order. Stories of Jataka and Avadan fables, Panchatantra and Hitopadesha, Brahtkatha of Gunadhya; Brhtakathakosha, Brhatkathamanjari and Kathasaritsagar, stories about Vikramaditya, Suksaptati, voluminous narrative literature of Prakrit and Apabhramsha, and medieval romances of all the Indian languages including Punjabi qissas are infact manifestations of emancipation and upsurge of masses

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in their respective time and space.[20] It is only recently that the study of folk arts, including folk literature and folk elements, is being recognised of fundamental importance to understand the evolution of human mind and human social order. Qissas in Punjabi underscore the significance of social revolution, massive upsurge and popular protestant movements in this part of the country, and this should be an important guiding factor while studying and analysing this lively and full-blooded literary genre.

5. Muslim Advent and Punjabi Qissa

Some Punjabi scholars opine that qissa in Punjabi originated as a result of and after the advent of Muslims.[21] This may be difficult to accept on historical and psychological grounds. Reliable proofs are available to believe the availability of strong current of Punjabi narrative literature much before the advent of Muslims in the areas now known as Punjab.[22]

It has been hinted earlier that contribution of India in enriching the narrative store-house of the world has been significant. There had been three outlets of Indian stories :

(a) Through Buddhist literature in the form of its Tibbetan and Chinese translations in the North,

(b) In South-East Asian countries of Java, Bali, Sumatra and Champa, known as Greater India; and in Japan, China and Lanka across the eastern and southern oceans, and

(c) Through North-Western frontiers of India in Persia, Arabia, Europe and North Africa.

The main outlet for this literature has been the trade-route between India and Arabia, and through Arabs the Western and North-African world. In the old parts of the city of Peshawar there used to be a 'Qissa-Kahani' or 'Qissa-Khwani' bazar. In old days stories are stated to be also sold in that city, situated as it was, it was an important transit station for the traders and travellers, where the story-trader used to sell his stories to the traders of other commodities.[23] This can, thus, be safely assumed that the North-Western State of Punjab must have been ardent lover and creator of narratives. This content is further supported by analysis of story form, story elements and story motifs of Punjabi qissas vis-a-vis old and contemporary literatures of other Indian languages.[24]

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This may, however, be accepted that composition of narrative literature in Punjabi language and its preservation in Persian and other prevalent scripts must have coincided with and started after the advent of Muslims as well as in the background of popular resurgence.

Aristocratic Hindu society gave immense importance to Sanskrit as the language of their religion, literature and culture. During middle ages partly this importance passed over to Braj. Folk lacks the capacity and resources to create and preserve its literature in written form in their popular dialects. Classes are by and large conservative enough to preserve their traditional behaviour even at the cost of discomfort. It was, therefore, quite natural and logical for the elite of this part of the country to rely on Sanskrit and Braj for the acceptance and currency of their ideas. All the ten Sikh Gurus belonged to Punjab and provided excellent leadership to Punjabis in all walks of life. But entire Gurmat literature was deeply influenced by Braj and its literary forms for evident historical reasons.

Muslims, however, both the local converts and the newcomers, perhaps, lacked any such historical compulsion or special consideration for Sanskrit or Braj. They must have felt free to express their feelings in the local dialects and languages. There is a supportive evidence in Indian history for this assumption. During Buddhist period those outside Vedic fold felt free to patronise Pali and later on Prakrits. Similarly, Jainas, Siddhas and Naths, who were outside the Puranic fold used Apabhramshas, whereas Puranic sections stuck to Sanskrit during the same period. It was, therefore, natural for Muslims to initially use Punjabi for literary purposes as a written language. Prem Prakash Singh, while upholding this assumption says that Sikhs and Hindus of that period created their works in Braj-dominated language, and, thus had lesser interest in pure Punjabi. It was left, however, to patronise and use Punjabi language to Muslims,[25] who were already familiar with Persian narrative literature. They, thus, tried to provide identical expressive form to Punjabi narratives also. Translations in Punjabi of the Persian and Arabic narratives were also attempted, and, thus, for these purely narrative, romantic and popular Punjabi works generic name 'qissa' became current.[26]

6. Romantic, Passionate Love and Qissa

Sex besides food-seeking and fear is one of the basic motivating instincts of any living being. Sex-based attraction is one of the most

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important factors of human life that has greatly influenced the fashioning of human behaviour, culture, psyche and social institutions. Though primary and irresistible instinct, evolution of mankind, development of its economic resources and its consequent social implications have always prevented free sexual behaviour and even free choice of sex-partners.[27] As a measure of bio-physical and psychological release conjugal relations were accepted, but the choice of man and wife through any form of institution of marriage was always confined in the hands of social institutions of tribe, joint family, church and the state.[28] A man free to chose any inanimate object or even a friend based on individual liking and choice was never allowed freedom to select a sex partner, which happens to be the most intricate, compulsive and important of human relationships with multi-dimensional elements of attraction. No group of people or an individual can be held responsible for merits or aberrations of a social institution and its traditions. As a living organism, society automatically evolves social rules, regulalations and norms under historical compulsions and in a causal and effective relationship automatically for its greater good—its existence and preservation. In primitive periods, under the same logic, a pairing unit of a man and a woman being non-viable—and weakening element for society in general was never tolerated. Groupings of animals and birds ascertain this biological compulsion. Herbivorous animals like elephants, deer etc., which live in herds for safety reasons, lead consanguine or free sex life. Most of the carnivorous animals and birds select their life partners and live in pairs, on the other hand.[29] In its tribal and savage stages the existence of a human couple in utterly hostile environment could never be conceived.[30] In the course of time with the development of material resources and economic set-up social life started becoming complex and the evolution of family could not be stalled. But in that case also the responsibility to choose sex partner was appropriated by the tribe, the joint family and the church.[31] Independent and free choice of a companion is necessarily based on mutual liking, interdependence and friendship of two individuals. This breeds mutual sense of interest and is inherently anti-group, anti-family and anti-social.[32] Free choice of life partners must have been ruinous for the tribal and even agricultural societies till the beginning of urbanised and industrialised society. In our own society even at the present times only a microscopic minority of highly mobilised families would tolerate free choice of sex partners for their sons and daughters. It is under these compulsions that the social institution of

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marriage evolves with its attendant evils of stratified relations, dowry, unequal marriages, polygamy, widowhood and even the institutions of prostitution and keeps for the decadent classes.[33] Free love and marriage are without doubt incompatible and rival institutions, the former individualistic and the latter collective. This is also true that the institution of marriage can keep highly antagonistic and even hating individuals together without a shred of love and understanding for each other throughout their lives.[34] Marriage gives legitimate heirs for the male property but simultaneously either erases the free personality of the women or stifles their finer sentiments.[35] This has been a great burden on social and psychological life of mankind over the long history of its evolution based on economic structure, inheritence and social morality.

But when the rules and norms useful for the wider social organisation try to throttle and suffocate the individual aspirations beyond a certain tolerable limit it generates reaction in two different ways :

(i) Some over-conscious and over-sensitive persons ordained with forceful individualistic personalities reject these social norms. They suffer, as a result, a number of social and personal privations, including the supreme sacrifice of life itself. These rebels, however, evolve as leaders for the multitude of similarly suffering and oppressed humanity.[36]

(ii) Secondly, those of the masses afraid to pay this price, but equally incensed by the popular resurgence, try to express this dissatisfaction through different imaginary, romantic and cathartic channels.[37] Needless to say that upper classes do not suffer from any such disability, because besides having compulsarily, wives bound with physical, emotional and religious taboos to be faithful as the providers of legitimate offsprings to inherit their property, they have the privilege to have keeps, mistresses and even prostitutes for their romantic satisfaction.[38] Initially this cathartic expression of the folk is unacceptable to the norm-laying upper classes. But its popular attraction which is too overpowering and also unavoidable forces the higher classes also to accept these romances, of course blended with numerous social and moral ideals and religio-sectarian contents. Physical and practical violation of controlled sexual behaviour being tortuous, its literary expression becomes highly satisfying for the wider society as an escape from this psycho-physical supression, even though the romances are blended with religious, sectarian, mystic and romantic ideals.[39] Adoption of romantic poetic form and motifs by Sufis, Proveneels,

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Druids, Troubodours, Krishna cult poetry, Katharists, Gnostics, and exponents of European 'cortezia' must be seen in the light of the upsurge of the masses and suffocating sexual culture.[40]

Turning back to Punjabi qissas it may be assumed that literary expression of such romantic infatuation and emotional passionate love has been the second important motivating force behind these works also besides the narrative element. This has been identical and parallel international phenomena associated with emanicipated and resurgent folk.

7. Literary Love or Social Adultry :

Banarsi Dass Jain, author of 'Arthakanak', confesses that he used to read the qissas or romantic narratives of 'Mrigavati' and 'Madhumalati' in secluded places without being noticed by his elders.[41]

He was bold enough to admit. Many more might have done the same without admitting the fact. All qissa-writers of Punjab profess LOVE to be the greatest gift of God, His very creed ('Ishq Khuda Di Zat hai'). Lovers have unanimously been termed as godly beings. But simultaneously Love has been explained a great ordeal, torture, penance and suffering. Hafiz the author of 'Mirza Sahiban' has this to say—there cannot be true love without being ready to meet one's death ('Ishq Na hoe Hafiza bajhon maut mare'). Kabir also has an identical experience.[42] 'Hir' without doubt is the best and most loved name in the entire North-Western India. The depth and singlemindedness of her love is a prized experience for all of us. But then why was it left to the first Punjabi Qissa-writer to say in such pathetic tones—"Tell, O' Damodar, to what extent this maiden had to suffer" (Akh Damodar Akhan Dithi, Je Sir Saleti de Aee).[43] A strange problem is encountered here. How is it that a particular human behaviour considered to be immoral, debasing, unsocial and antisocial taboo, is idealised as lofty and best of human sentiments and behaviour.[44] The church, the family and the society in general are against the passionate lovers and put all sorts of obstacles in their way. But then lovers in literature are invariably great souls blessed and loved by the God. Khwaza Khizar himself performs the last rites of Sohni and Mahiwal after they die. They are buried towards the sacred feet of the Great Prophet. Shiva and other gods come to the rescue of Ratnasena when tortured at Sinhala island by the father of heroine Padmavati. Lovers Madhvanal and Kamkandala whenever in distress because of

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social torture find Vikramaditya by their side. This is a riddle of confusing intensity and a great paradox. The passionate, faithful and singleminded love of these qissas is adultry in the eyes of the society.[45] (The case is not much different at its practical level even today). But the cosmic justice and Godly blessings, have, on the other hand, been always showered on these lovers. Lovers have been termed as God's loved ones, the recipients of His greatest mercy and benediction.[46]

8. Conclusion :

By way of conclusion it may be emphasised that pure narrative element in literature concerns only the masses.[47] Similarly, strong emotional and passionate romantic feelings are also a lofty and idealised compulsions of the masses alone. Classes continue to be occupied with ritualistic practices, idealised concepts, subtle philosophies and refined pleasures. A happy, pleasant, spontaneous and forceful blend of these two important factors becomes, however, the bed-rock of most of the medieval romances or qissas of almost all the popular languages of the world. Medieval emanicipation of the masses could be underlined as the underlying inspiring element. Specific sectarian, devotional, emotive and secret religious practices of medieval period also manifest the conscious or subconscious reaction of the emanicipated masses against the decadent classes. Thus, a charming blend of medieval religious and romantic-narrative elements is discernible. Mother cult of Tantrik Siddhas, emotive love philosophy of Sufis, sentimental love—attachment of neo-Christians, Krishna-Radha or Krishna-Gopi consciousness and philosophies of "Premanuga-Prapattimulak" Vaishnava cults, are historically parallel cathartic movements of the emancipated masses. Sufis, Krishna devotees, a number of European medieval sects—to name only a few—Traboudors, Druids, Provencels, Kathars, Arthurians, Gnostics, etc.—are not the originators of passionate love in literature. Through them, however, it was the massive socio-psychological discontent which got sublime expression.[48] In consonance with the general medieval temperament, any social behaviour or its expression when wrapped with religious and sectarian beliefs and principles, became easily acceptable and won respectable recognition. Thus patronage of religious and sectarian orders of some class helps in wider acceptance and recognition of the romantic ideal at the secular level also in literary and philosophic expressions. Association and

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involvement of folk idealises the folk tendencies, folk elements, folk beliefs, passionate love and romantic dreams also which become fundamentals of the medieval narrative romances. At a stage of extreme emancipation the folk feels free enough to give expression to its pure and prinstine urges, dreams and aspirations through its simple folk languages and in its inornate style. Traditional and classical poetic elements and style are also rejeccted in favour of simple folk literary forms. This has in brief been the common heritage of Punjabi qissas in the context of medieval renaissance.

FOOTNOTES

1. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 1042-49 (Note on word 'Quissa').
2. *Persian-English Dictionary of Steingass* (Notes on words qs, quassas, quassa and quissa).
3. *The Collegiate Arabic-English Dictionary* (Notes on Kisas, Kissa, Kassasa, etc.).
4. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 1042-44.
5. (a) Parminder Singh, Kirpal Singh Kasel, *Punjabi Sahitt Di Utpatti Te Vikas*, pp. 125-126.
   (b) Gopal Singh, *Sahitt Di Parakh*, p. 71.
   (c) Parminder Singh, Kirpal Singh Kasel, *Sahitt Parkash*, p. 165 (and many others).
6. Gopal Singh, *op.cit.*, pp. 70-71, 73.
7. Surinder Singh Kohli, *Punjabi Sahitt : Vastu Te Vichar*, pp. 183-184.
8. Parminder Singh, Kirpal Singh Kasel, *Sahitt Prakash*, pp. 166-69.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-169.
10. Parminder Singh, Kirpal Singh Kasel, *Punjabi Sahitt Di Utpatti Te Vikas*, pp. 125-126.
11. This division and classification is based on history and historical tendencies. It is different from the concept of Early medieval and Late medieval Literary periods in Hindi and other Indian languages.
12. Herbert Grierson, *The Background of English Literature* (Classical and Romantic), p. 289.
13. M. P. Bharadwai, *Madhyakaleen Romance*, pp. 27-33.
14. (a) H. T. Girerson, *Cross Currents of English Literature*, pp. 131-132.
    (b) Samson, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, p. 20.
    (c) Dennis De Rougemont, *Passion and Society*, pp. 33, 35, 61, 62, 75, 76, 78-83, 121, 148, 151, 316.
15. M. P. Bharadwaj, Madhyakaleen Romance : Lok Ka Mukhar Virechan (Article) in *Parishodh*-14, January, 1971, pp. 44-50.
16. Tales, fables and stories belong to the best production of the Indian mind...It is most wonderful that the Indian narrative material has passed from nation to nation in such a way that we find in almost all the countries of Europe and Asia and among those of Africa, stories and tales of which the original home was India. M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 301-302.

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17. U. Venkata Krishna Rao, *A Handbook of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 107-111.
18. M. P. Bharadwaj, *Madhyakaleen Romance*, pp. 49-72.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-75.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-79.
21. Jagjit Singh Chhabra, pp. 1, 33; Gurdit Singh Premi, p. 25; Surinder Singh, pp. 51, 211; Hamdard Veer Naushehrawi, p. 97 in *Sahitt Samachar* (Qissa-Kav Ank, January-June, 1962.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
23. Narmadeshwar Chaturvedi, Katha-Shaili Ki Parampara (Article) in *Sahitya*, year 12, Vol. II, July, 1961, pp. 56-59.
24. M. P. Bharadwaj, *Madhyakaleen Romance*, pp. 227-322.
25. Prem Prakash Singh, *Punjabi Boli—Nikas Te Vikas*, pp. 285-286.
26. Prem Prakash Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-286.
27. Floyd Dell, *Love in Machine Age*, p. 23.
28. F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, pp. 77, 84.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.
30. Ludwig Gumplowicz, *Outline of Sociology*, pp. 110, 112, 130.
31. Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, p. 275.
32. Curt Thesing, *Genealogy of Love*, pp. 241-242.
33. Dennis De Rougemont, *Passion and Society*, p. 33.
34. Floyd Dell, *Love in Machine Age*, pp. 31, 46-47.
35. Sherwin Bailey, *Common Sense About Sexual Ethics*, p. 93.
36. Andre Mauroise, *Seven Faces of Love*, p. 95.
37. Herbert Grierson, *The Background of English Literature*, p. 289.
38. Dennis De Rougemont, *Passion and Society*, p. 277.
39. Herbert Grierson, *The Background of English Literature*, p. 289.
40. Dennis De Rougemont, *Passion and Society*, pp. 316, 78, 83.
41. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, *Hindi Sahitya Ka Adikal*, p. 109,
42. M. P. Bharadwaj, Madhyakaleen Romance : Lok Ka Mukhar Virechan; (Article) in Parishodh-14; January, 1971, pp. 44-45.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
44. Dennis De Rougemont, *Passion and Society*, pp. 61, 62, 76.
45. "Love, if it engages the whole man, quickly becomes anti-social. Immediately, a social chastisement follows". Andre Mauroise, *Seven Faces of Love*, (Princess of Cloves), p. 17.
46. Dennis De Rougemont, *Passion and Society*, p. 16.
47. H. J. Frances and J. Thomas, *Jataka Tales* (Tr.), p. 205.
48. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, *Madhyakaleen Dharamsadhana*, p. 225.

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SECTION-II

Philosophy

Bhuvan Chandel .. The Concept of Agathon in Greek Epistemology—Reconsidered.

Veena Kapoor .. An Interpretation of Action in The Bhagwad Gita.

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THE CONCEPT OF AGATHON IN GREEK EPISTEMOLOGY—RECONSIDERED

Bhuvan Chandel

Socratic doctrine is only a statement of what is implicit in normal Greek view of good i.e. *Agathon*. The good as the most general end of human action was invariably identified with happiness i.e. eudaimonia. To *be good*, it is necessary *to know* what is good. And this contention is the basis of Socratic thesis that virtue is knowledge. Socrates pointed the way to a theory of the nature of the objects of knowledge which occupied Plato's attention before he first explicitly formulated his theory of forms. There are two propositions which constitute the essential core of Socratic philosophy namely the thesis that virtue is knowledge and that the particular method of cross examination is the best means of attaining knowledge.

It is in fact only an emphatic statement of the altruistic outlook implicit in the use of Greek ethical terms. It assumes an ideal of determining what is good by a systematic method of enquiry which is directed principally to the definition of the commonly accepted "Virtues". This method it is assumed will yield knowledge of what is "Good" as opposed to the various opinions as to what is good. Using a paradoxical form as a means of emphasizing his tenets, Socrates states in the early dialogues that knowledge of what courage is, or of what other virtues are, is fundamentally knowledge of what good itself is.[1] In defining the particular virtues one is led to a conception of good as a single end which unifies all the virtues, in the sense that it is common to each of them that full knowledge of it implies knowledge of what good is. Thus good itself is assumed to be definable.[2]

From the foregoing it is evident that Socratic ideal of knowledge was closely associated with his search for definitions. This bears a direct testimony of Xenophon and Aristotle.

According to Aristotle, societies believed that knowledge of virtue was the end. All virtues were forms of knowledge so that to know what

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was just, was at the same time to be just.

Socratic ideal of morality is then an intellectualist ideal. In seeking to define the virtues or virtue itself Socrates is seeking to formulate a moral ideal. Knowledge sought by Socrates when he said that virtue was knowledge is described by Plato as knowledge of forms (Eidos) or essences (Ousia).[3]

How is this knowledge attainable ? In the early dialogues rules of the Socratic method indicate that the aim is to promote consistency between the inter-locutors in respect of definition which is sought to be formulated. Opinion should not conflict either itself or in its consequences with any other opinion which is held just as strongly. Therefore, knowledge is possible if the criterion of agreement of definitions is fulfilled.[3]

However this suggestion for the practice of method was conceived to be exceedingly limited and inadequate as a means of knowledge as the discussions in most cases turned out to be inconclusive. And we find Socrates himself, as portrayed by Plato, despairing of ever reaching any definite truth. He himself wanted the arguments to be immovably settled but all propositions seemed to be shifting and transitory. These were not devoid of ambiguities and inconsistencies. It almost appears at times as if the arguments get out of the grip and run away from any systematic attempt to substantiate their truth[4].

Socrates himself disclaiming knowledge at best is only able to prove the resultant ignorance of others. He himself professed ignorance and scepticism. However it is only after the introduction of the theory of recollection that Plato ventures to present Socrates as an intellectual midwife bringing to birth positive truths in the minds of others.

Plato was aware of the limitations of Socratic method and tried to establish the need for a constructive theory of knowledge which will provide a more adequate theory of criterion of truth than that of Socrates. Hence it is clear in Plato's *Meno* that the form in which the problem of knowledge first presented itself to Plato was determined by his reflections on the limitations of the Socratic method.

In *Phaedo* Socrates is represented as holding the doctrine of intelligible forms. Kebes, Simmias Echekrates the character of the dialogue draw a sharp distinction between the *objects of thought*

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and *objects of sense*. Only the former can be said to be; the latter are only becoming. Being (Οὐσία) and Becoming (Γένεσις) are the basis of this. Sensible is only in the making, striving or tending to be. This distinction is to be traced to a study of mathematics. Socratic philosophy is a systematic search for the universal in other fields than mathematics.

Aristotle tells us that there are two things that may fairly be astributed to Socrates (1) universal definitions, (2) inductive reasoning as well as the doctrine of reminiscences i.e. the recognition of the universal in a particular case.

It is with the soul by means of reasoning (λογισμος) that we apprehend the forms while particulars are apprehended through the body of sensation. Body and senses are hindrances to the acquisition of true wisdom. Independence from them takes us near the knowledge of reality and truth.

Things of sense are merely likenesses of or images of the eternal and immutable forms, standards or patterns (παραδειγματα). Of these alone there can be knowledge. Our apprehension of things of sense is only "imagination" or at best belief (δοξα πιστις). Knowledge in its purity is there only when soul departs from body. Even in this life by practice of dying daily we may so mortify the flesh that for a brief space we may behold eternal realities in a vision and being out of body obtain a foretaste of immortality.

What is soul? It is the organizing principle of the body which is in perfect attunement with it. However the most important characteristic of Socrates theory is that of identification of goodness or agathon with knowledge. Goodness for Socrates was a positive concept—a habit of soul. Socrates admitted the relative value of the belief (αληθης δοξα). '*Unity of Goodness*' was another concept which is important from the standpoint of knowledge. What is that knowledge with which true goodness is to be identified? It is knowledge of what is good for *human soul* which has three parts (1) the Philosophical reasoning part (φιλοσοφον λογιστικον) (2) Temper (θυμος) (3) Desire; (επιθυμια) special virtues of these are wisdom, courage and soberness, while justice keeps them all in their proper place. Wisdom should command and justice should supply the necessary material basis for the realization of ultimate good.

It is clear, therefore, that the Socratic ideal of morality was essentially an intellectual ideal. He identified knowledge with human

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action by identifying good (agathon) with knowledge itself.

In *Meno* Plato is primarily concerned with the possibility of knowledge rather than with the specific nature of objects of knowledge. He doubts whether any *criterion of truth* exists. How is a true solution to be distinguished from one which is untrue but plausible.

The process of gaining knowledge in this life is a process of *re-collecting what the soul knew prior to this life.* Thus it is a theory that knowledge is *apriori* in the sense that its source is independent of the experience of this life. This theory of recollection has certain religious, orphic and Pythagorean religious beliefs and presuppositions. One of the principal ideas contained in these presuppositions is the idea of a soul and that it existed prior to incarnation and that source of knowledge is independent of present incarnate experience.

Plato thus adopted a theory of transcendent knowledge. He was absolutely convinced about permanent knowledge being attainable. Initially it was Socratic doctrine of the craving of the soul which identified soul with man's moral and rational 'self'. This faith is clearly vindicated in his assertion that virtue was knowledge. Plato acknowledged explicity the Socratic influence when he attributes intellectual activity to soul and says that this activity of soul which yields knowledge is its proper function.[5]

Every step in the doctrine of rebirth gives rise to the idea of awareness of the continuity of the soul's existence and its retention of memory. "All nature is akin" for between Gods, men and animals there exists a systematic unity in universe. In this context the question which arises is whether it is a purely empirical interpretation of the theory of recollection.

Frutiger contrasts the mythical exposition of *Meno* with the dialectical exposition of the *Phaedo*. This theory of recollection was considered only a simple religious *belief* lacking the rationale given to it later by the theory of forms.

However according to the critics the idea that everything can be recalled from the remembrance of one single thing is nothing more than "*mythical-symbolism*". Plato lays stress on systematic questioning as the means of eliciting truth. He gives instance of the slave boy and the geometric problem. By a method of systematic questioning it is

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possible to elicit the recognition that certain propositions are indubitably true. Plato argues that the fact that without any previous instruction in Geometry, the Slave is able to recognize the truth of certain propositions implies that the *truth* was *a possession of the soul* before the soul was incarnate in human form.

It implies further that truth is still '*in*' the soul in this life; it is innate, otherwise there would be no possibility of eliciting it in this life. Thus Plato's claim that *all* knowledge is *apriori* in the sense that its source is independent of the experience of present incarnate experience.

Plato speaks of following three stages in the process of recollection :—

1. Negative stage of disillusionment which elicits the recognition that propositions which at first are believed to be true are in fact false.

2. Certain propositions are true but it is not clear as yet why they are true.

3. The level of apprehension thus reached is described as a state of true belief and knowledge.

Later on Plato makes a distinction between belief (doxa) and knowledge in terms of difference in kind between the objects of knowledge namely between sensibles and forms. This distinction is between *apriori* and *empirical* knowledge.

True belief according to Plato is unstable and cannot meet criticism by an explanation of the grounds for its truth. To become knowledge it must be tied down to a chain of causal reasonings or by thinking out the reason why. At the level of true belief certain propositions are recognized to be true but as yet they are isolated truths in that they have not been recognized as elements in a coherent system. *Knowledge is the comprehension* of a system within which all the elements of the system find their explanation. Thus status of true belief in *Meno* is akin to the status granted to understanding (dianoia) in *Republic*. True belief can be converted to knowledge if the assumptions are confirmed by showing them to be derivatives from higher principles.

With regard to the objects of true belief and knowledge the recollection theory in *Meno* does imply a transcendent reality as the object of true belief and knowledge and a transcendent source of knowledge. By the transcendent it is meant that it is superior to and

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different in kind from the reality which belongs to the objects of incarnate experience of this life.

But Plato perhaps realized the difficulty whether theory of recollection is able to provide a criterion of knowledge or not And also the extent of *apriori* knowledge is not specified. All that he says is that what is true of mathematics is true of all other branches of learning. But this is a question begging phrase and indicates that Plato's theory of knowledge is lacking in precision.

Hence Plato tried to tackle the problem of extent of *apriori* knowledge through a more precise determination of the value of *apriori* knowledge and as a complementary to this, an examination of the nature of non-apriori levels of apprehension—most particularly the nature of sense perception and its status in relation to knowledge. Perception according to Plato cannot apprehend existence and truth. Both existence (Ὀνδια) and truth (Ὀληθεια) are commonly used by Plato to mean that true reality which he ascribes to forms. Plato denies any reality to sensible objects. He says in this context : "Knowledge does not reside in impressions, but in our reflection upon them. It is there, seemingly, and not in the impressions, that it is possible to grasp existence and truth."[6]

In *Meno* Plato speaks of the rational account of the practices of priests and priestesses who are divinely inspired. They say that the soul of man is immortal. At one time it comes to an end and at another it is born again but is never destroyed. That is why it is necessary to live one's life as righteously as possible. Since then the soul is immortal and has been born many times. There is nothing that it has not learnt. It is not surprising that it can recollect all that it knew previously about *virtue* and everything else. This is what we call learning, research and recollection. Therefore, we find that knowledge as recollection and knowledge as reasoning through understanding and knowledge as philosophic wisdom presupposes the concept of goodness or *agathon* as a necessary postulate.

The unified vision of reality is the attainment of final vision of truth of whole truth and nothing but the truth. This knowledge when consummated is an ineffable ecstasy—a true realization of *agathon* itself. Thus the concept of *AGATHON* is embedded in the very heart of Greek epistemology. A reconsideration of its implicit significance is likely to kindle a new interest in the deliberations on the relationship between knowledge, wisdom and human action; and indeed between intention, intention-expressions and human agency—which is an important area of philosophical inquiry.

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AN INTERPRETATION OF ACTION IN THE BHAGAVADGITA

Veena Kapoor

The *Gītā* tries to evaluate the quality of human action in terms of the excellence of moral life and as such formulates the basis of morality itself. The sphere of morality pertains to the goal of self-realization which is attained through the way of action or the way of knowledge or the way of worship. 'Action', if taken in a wider sense, will cover the other two ways of self-realization also. For worship itself could be understood as an activity though different from social action but without the way of knowledge understanding the way of action is impossible. In this paper an attempt has been made to understand the notion of action not in the sense of action as knowing or action as worshipping but the nature of action in actual situations.

Karma primarily means action. It is the nature of action to produce bondage when it is performed under the guidance of desires, but when action is performed without attachment either for itself or for its fruits, it will lead to freedom, to the goal of self-realization. That is to say *karma* can be used as a means for the realization of the self (the person), which will not give rise to further retributive action.

Action, according to the *Gītā* is superior to inaction. Non-performance of work does not mean work-lessness, all the more giving up action does not lead towards perfection. All are made to act. All men are living under bondage. All are made to act helplessly indeed by the Guṇas born of Prakṛti.

Karma can be understood in two different senses :

The destiny forged by one is one's past in-carnation or persent : the store of tendencies, impulses, characteristics, and habits laid by, which determines the future embodiment, environment, and the whole of one's organization.

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> "Prakṛti is the mental equipment with which one is born, as the result of the past acts. This must run its course. .... even God cannot prevent its operation. Even He ordains that the past deeds produce their natural effects."[1]

Another meaning of *Karma* often used in reference to one's caste or position in life, is duty, the course of conduct which one ought to follow in pursuance of the tendencies which one acquired in one's past, with a view to working them out and regaining the original purity of the self.

> "For (every) sense attachment and aversion are fixed (in regard) to the objects of (that) sense. Let no one come under their way for they are his (two) way layers.
>
> But if we overcome these impulses and act from a sense of duty, we are not victims of the play of Prakṛti. The exercise of human freedom *is* conditioned and not cancelled by the necessities of nature".[2]

In either of these two senses of *Karma* doctrine a man's actions are determined either by the caste in which he takes birth or by the tendencies or capacities that he has to practise in the form of particular sort of activities which themselves have evolved out of his previous actions. Here man cannot choose. We cannot run away from actions because we carry the condition with us. We will have to face the consequences of the actions and through the acceptance only we can begin to evolve further. There is no place for escapism in *Karma*-theory.

The problem is as to what extent a man is free to choose to act if all his actions are predetermined ? One has to be in a situation, as such cannot choose not to act. It is a necessary condition. What one can choose is what can be taken as a guide to one's action, whether it is the desire or *Svadharma*. As is told in the *Gītā* that man should not be guided by his desires because it deviates him from the way to the ultimate goal that is of liberation and puts him again in the chain of *Karma* because no action, unless performed without attachment, fear, desires and inclinations, is without effect. It is beautifully stated in the *Gītā* how moral degradation comes through the exercise of desires in actions.

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From anger arises bewilderment, from bewilderment loss of memory, and from loss of memory, the destruction of intelligence and from the destruction of intelligence he perishes.[3]

It is sometimes misinterpreted that man's actions are to be determined by the caste in which he takes birth, i.e. if he takes birth in a Cobbler's family then he should perform the obligations of a Cobbler. But the difficulty lies here in it that if everything were to be determined by the social setting then one could hardly talk of *Dharma*. Dharma makes its appearance in the course of action itself, e.g., Ekalavya—even being a Bhil, and rejected by Dronacharya to be given any training of bow-man learnt it through his own self. This can be realized only through social action. In a way the two are not distinct from each other. When an action evolves from the self in the form of a social action, it becomes difficult to say that they are two actions. Initially the two have a dynamic relation with each other i.e. self being realized through social action and social action, conversely, being performed through self. It may be that an individual takes birth in a particular caste as determined by his previous actions but it does not imply that man is left with no choice of his own to make. He can always get out of it through the self. Once he realizes his true place in the universe, i.e., the entire scheme of things, his social action gets incapsulated with the self. Knowing oneself is the *Svadharma*.

The concept of *dharma* in the *Gītā* does not denote the religious conception but the excellence and efficiency of one's capacities and capabilities which can be justified by bringing them in the course of action to fulfil an obligation. Now the term obligation can be taken in two different senses, the obligation towards oneself as a person and obligation towards the society in which one takes birth to fulfil certain assigned duties. As it has already been mentioned that when an action is done in disinterestedness, it merges into social action itself. So when the obligation is towards oneself, the obligation to society will not differ from it.

The sphere of morality pertains to the self which neither becomes better nor worse with the effects of the action, for actions' significance is temporal. But their importance should not be multiplied as they have a certain bearing on man in making his future life and in making him realize his self. On the one hand, *Karma* is the cause of the chain of *Karma* and on the other, *Karma* breaks the chain of *Kārma*. It is to cut *Karma* through *Karma*. The basic principle of the *Gītā* is

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to know thyself and whole of the doctrine of *Karma* and *Dharma* is there to make him realize self. So self-realization is consciously willed-activity which could be taken as a principle that constitutes ethics in *Gītā*.

Dharma cannot be taken in isolation from action itself. It may be interpreted in terms of doing one's duty to which one is committed. It is an ethical discipline of active self-determination. It is the moral consistency in the expression of the rule that one obtains to live by. True understanding of duty is the essential nature of *Dharma*. It is not merely the true understanding of duty but to fulfil it whenever it is required of the person.

Since man is always in the chains of birth and rebirth and as such, a part of the cosmic reality cannot avoid doing actions. But what sort of actions one should perform in order to break this chain? Certainly the actions which follow the duty and disinterestedness. Man is essentially the part of the cosmic whole performing his role not necessarily assigned to him by birth but which he himself has accepted in the light of his self. Once he has accepted a sort of role, he cannot get out of it unless it weakens in his thought under the dominion of his senses. Once he has decided in his full consciousness to perform certain sort of action then he cannot act otherwise unless is backslided or weakened in his will. This is his *Dharma* to carry out the obligations. That is one must be in a perpetual process of action to be fully aware of one's *Dharma* which is one's intrinsic nature. The *Gītā* emphasizes that reality is to be conceived in the self itself which is the source of existance of all things. The inner self should not be confused with the extraneous objects or actions themselves which could be used as means to accomplish the Self.

> "By Me all this universe is pervaded through My unmanifested form. All beings abide in Me but I do not abide in them".[4]

Here, the Me stands for the inner-self of the individual which is the agency of all actions, all judgements. The inner-self as such should not be interpreted in terms of divinity but it is to understand one's position in the cosmic whole. *Dharma* is an ethical discipline of active-self-determination. It is in virtue of the self that an individual can be considered to be an autonomous and free person. To be independent and free is to be consciously aware of one's true essence. I as an individual must surrender to I as a person. That is the true understanding of the duty—the essential *Dharma*.

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All attachment and aversion of the senses for their respective objects are natural. Any action if performed under the sway of them will result in other *Karma*. Therefore in order to overcome these sensous desires which are undoubtedly the foe of all mankind one ought to take refuge in wisdom. For work (with desire) is verily far inferior to that performed with the mind undisturbed by thoughts of results.

"The wise who have united their intelligence (with the Divine) renouncing the fruits which their action yields and freed from the bonds of birth reach the sorrowless state".[5]

One is weakened by the stirring of one's deepest emotions. One loses self-control when over-powered by compassion. Overwhelmed with pity and sorrow, it is the feeling which becomes man's master of situation and not his Self. *Dharma* is the inmost constitution of man. Working out one's *Karma* according to the law of one's own being is, therefore, the *Dharma*. One should free oneself from the triad of *Guṇas*, from the pairs of opposites, free from getting and keeping and be established in the self. It is possible by engaging oneself in one's own occupation. Prescribed duties, according to one's nature, are never affected by sinful reactions. One should not imitate another's duty. A person who is naturally attracted towards the duties to be performed by Śūdras should not artificially claim to be a Brahamiṇa family. The point can be made clear by citing the concrete instance in the *Gītā* itself. Arjuna's inner self over-ridden by desires weakens him to take a decision which ought to be taken in the battlefield. Arjuna's thought of desisting from fight (which is his *Dharma*) at the sight of his elders, friends and relatives is the outcome of what one desires and which is in accordance with the senses. Arjuna, being a Kshatriya, knows his duty is to fight but backslides. One is weakened when one is prepared to accept a certain moral principle as binding on oneself that is when one feels committed to act in accordance with the principle but when one considers how contrary it is to one's own interests to act in accordance with principle, one weakens. Krishna advices Arjuna in such a case of moral crisis.

"Better is one's own law though imperfectly carried out than the law of another carried out perfectly. Better is death in (fulfilment of) one's own law for to follow another's law is perilous."[6]

The implication is this that one should not backslide from the obligations that he is committed to fulfil when the situations require him to

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do so. And this is true prescriptively not only for one particular individual (e.g. Arjuna) or for a group of people but for anyone whosoever faces such a situation; whosoever owns a responsibility must adhere to the commitment—i.e. the *Dharma* of the individual. This obligation which is self-regarding (not in egoistic sense) on the one hand, and social on the other, must be carried on irrespective of what one wants, desires, or is interested in. So the answer, to such a question as to what ought to do if happens to be in such a situation, would depend upon the consciousness of one's obligations, i.e. to know one's *Dharma*. It is not merely to become conscious of one's *Dharma* but to practice it in the social situations.

To strive to know oneself as an individual in a unique subjective sense is to perpetuate oneself as a separate narrow entity understanding oneself only in what one deems superficially to be one's personality which is the outer physical appearance far from being what one really is. As has already been pointed out that man cannot be taken as a unique subjective individual without having any bearing on society; he must keep acting. Performance of action is must, therefore, one must be aware of one's social *Dharma* that one commits to by accepting a social responsibility in the form of any profession or relation. Social obligation itself is the expression of the self. So the social roles must be played out in a way that help one to realize one's self. For those who are yet not free, i e. have not realized the self, death and birth is inevitable. So long as there is desire, circle of birth and death will continue. Not to live in virtue of one's *Dharma* is to live in illusion. It is to identify the self with the non-self.

The social obligation, then, is carried on regardless of one's subjective desires, fancies, inclinations and involvements. We are, anyhow, involved in the actions, but the self can be realized if they are performed with conformity to one's nature as an independent, complete and fulfilled being. The conflict is between individual conviction and loyalty to duty. Individual convictions tend to overpower *Dharma*. Perpetuation of emotional involvements and attachments cannot lead us towards perfection. The secret of living seems to be the exercise of full control over the *Indriyas* (Senses) knowing that the indulgence of the appetites can never lead us to full satisfaction nor give the value to life. Action, constantly performed for the sake of *Dharma* (the prescribed duty) irrespective of its consequence, makes the control possible.

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The *Gītā* does not reject duties and relationships of life as an illusion rather it accepts them as opportunities for realization of free self. Arjuna's duty to his *Dharma* compels him to act in the purely physical sphere of action. Arjuna is no longer a free agent (in the absolutistic sense) but he is *free* to choose how he will act—with fear and desire, or without fear and desire. That is to say, Arjuna, in any case, will have to act either with desire for the result and out of fear that the result will not be obtained, or through *Nishkāma Karma* (disinterested action) which is justified through itself.

In the *Gītā* disinterested activity should not be taken as having a negative value. It does not imply that such an activity is performed at random where the action could not be given the status of a voluntary activity. Disinterested activity frees an individual from the desires for fruitful results. It is opposed to the fulfilment of one's own desires and looking for the advantages that an individual may like to promote in his own interest or in the interest of family or a particular institution. This notion could clearly be understood in terms of the universalizability theses, that is, how prescribed action *ought* to be performed. And how an action ought to be performed depends upon the principles that a person has decided to act upon while living in certain situations. It, in no sense, suggests that it is the social situations, which will justify the goodness and badness of the action, the criterion for calling an action *morally* good is 'disinterestedness'. Disinterested does not mean non-performance of an action in empirical sense, for physical action will certainly take place, rather it is to give a moral meaning to action other than in naturalistic terms. That is, if a man makes a moral principle or a moral judgement, and as such is being guided by his *Dharma*, should sincerely assent to a self-addressed imperative of the form 'Let me do it' and which at the same time is accepted as a principle of action binding on any one in like circumstances. Our *Dharma* is formed of duties and principles which if not put into practice will lead to hypocrisy, insincerity and self-deception.

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SECTION-III

History & Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology

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A PRATIHĀRA DOORWAY FROM PEHOWA

Devendra Handa

Pehowa (29°58′N. Latitude and 76°35′ E. Longitude), situated about 25 km. west of Kurukshetra on the sacred Sarasvatī river, is one of the celebrated holy places of northern India. Its importance and sanctity have been referred to in various ancient texts and the numerous archaeological relics obtained from the site throw spot lights on its life-history during the last three millennia.[1] These relics indicate that many temples must have existed at Pehowa during the medieval period. There were many *tirthas* 'pilgrimages' at and near Pehowa. Describing one of these, 'Viswamitra Tirtha' by name, Cunningham observed : "This is situated on the south bank of the Saraswati, on a mound rising 40 feet above the bed of the river. Here are the remains of a fine temple, of which only the stone doorway of the sanctum is now left standing. There is a mass of bricks, with numerous fragments of carved bricks. Over the doorway, there is a male figure with two arms seated with hands in lap, and with a small elephant on each side anointing him. To his left were the *Navagraha*, or nine planets, and to the right the *Ashta-Sakti*, or eight female energies of gods."[2] About a decade later, Rodgers also noticed this doorway,[3] but his description contains many mistakes and wrong identifications. Moreover, neither Cunningham nor Rodgers could bring out its importance adequately. And hence this fresh study.

As noted above, Cunningham had seen this doorway on the mound of *Viśvāmitra Tirtha* but Rodgers saw it "in a building or rather a ruin on a small mound about 20 feet high about a mile up the Saraswati from Pehoa, on its left bank."[4] This ruin is located adjacent to the Prāchī Śiva Temple, a shrine of a very late date built after Rodgers' visit perhaps, which is about half a km. from the *Viśvāmitrā kā Ṭilā*. If at all it is the same doorway as mentioned by Cunningham, and it seems very likely, it must have been removed from *Viśvāmitra kā Ṭilā* during 1878 and 1888, but Rodgers does not refer to its removal. His account on the other hand indicates that it was found from the small mound referred to by him. He continues to say that "The building was

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after the fashion of a house and not of a temple, and it seems to have been used by a faqir as his residence. There was a temple here once, however, for many of the bricks on the mound and in the walls of the house are carved."[5] Even now this doorway stands fitted in the same tenement. In the recent years, a part of the mound has been levelled and has yielded quite a few good sculptures including a beautiful Vaikuṇṭha,[6] parts of pillars, door surrounds,[7] an unfinisded doorway[8] and architectural pieces.

The doorway under consideration (Fig. 1) is 1.75 m. high and 1.37 m. broad. The positioning of architrave on the side jambs (Fig. 2) clearly indicates that it has been fitted into its present position after its removal from somewhere. The door opening is 1.40×0.70 m. The original *udumbara* 'door sill' is missing. The doorway is of *pañcha-śākhā* 'five band' variety. The innermost is the *nāgaśākhā* with an adoring serpent at the base. The upper half-portion of this *nāga* is anthropomorphic, canopied by snake hoods, and the lower half is anguine, coiled beautifully and covering the remaining part of the band. The next band consists of a series of panels each containing an image, either dancing or playing on some musical instrument. The middle band represents *mithuna-śākhā* and consists of alternate large and small panels showing the couples in different postures. Then follows the *gaṇa-śākhā* with dwarfish figures dancing in different poses. The outermost band shows exquisite scrollwork. The *pedyās* 'bases of jambs' show the river goddesses with their female and male attendants. Gaṅgā on the proper right hand side stands in *dvibhaṅga* 'double flexion' posture slightly turned to her left, supporting a vase in her left hand at the level of the shoulder while her suspended right hand holds the dangling end of the scarf. Wearing earrings, *ekāvalī* 'single stringed necklace' with a long pendent strand falling from between her breasts to the waist, armlets, bracelets, scarf and a lower garment held in position by an elaborately carved girdle, she stands under the canopy of an inverted flower. The goddess is followed by a female attendant, probably a fly-whisker, under a similar canopy and wearing similar dress and ornaments. The male attendant, with necessary difference of dress and ornamentation which include a sacred thread and a long garland, also stands under lotus canopy, almost to front, in double flexion pose, holding in his left hand an object which looks like a flower, with the suspended left touching the thigh. The vehicle of the goddess is not visible because of the weathering of the stone below her feet. Yamunā on the other side stands almost symmetrically accompanied by identical attendants.

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The *lalāṭa-bimba* 'central piece' shows a male figure seated on a lotus seat in *yogāsana* 'meditating pose' with two hands placed in the lap over the soles of the feet in a *rathikā*, 'pillared niche' pedimented by a *chaitya* 'dormer window' motif which shows *ardha-ratna* 'half dimond' in the centre and *makara-mukhas* 'crocodile faces' with rampant leogryphs outside the ribbed pillars. The attributes in the upper two hands are the lotus flowers as rightly recognized by Rodgers[9] and not elephants anointing the god as described by Cunningham.[10] The god wears a cylindrical crown, ear ornaments, bracelets, long garland etc. and may thus be identified as Sūrya or Sūrya—Nārāyaṇa. Rodgers, however, wrongly described the deity to have been seated on two lions.[11] The lotus stem with buds under the lotus seat seem to have been mistaken by Rodgers as two lions.

Except the middle band which shows a *kīrti-mukha* 'face of glory' at the level of the lintel on each side, all other bands continue on the lintel and terminate on either side of the *lalāṭa-bimba*. Strangely enough, the dancers and musicians on the second and fourth jambs are shown horizontally on the lintel. This must have been necessitated by the available width of the jambs. In the case of the *mithuna-śākhā*, however, the ingenuity of the artist is to be seen. As noted above, a *kīrti-mukha* has been introduced just below the topmost panel of the vertical sides because otherwise the height of the panels would have rendered that much space as blank. On the horizontal part of this jamb on either side of the *lalāṭa-bimba*, however, are depicted *gandharva* and *vidyādhara* figures, five on each side, in flying postures.[12] Starting from the central piece on the proper right hand side, may be seen a garland bearing *vidyādhara* followed by his spouse holding lotus flowers by their stalks in both the hands. Another couple follows showing the male figure with a sword in his right hand and some indistinct object (arrows ?) in the left, the female holding perhaps a drinking cup in the left and a lotus in the right hand. The last female figure is depicted as holding a long lute across her body in both her hands. On the corresponding other side we have the garland bearing male followed by his spouse in *añjali-mudrā* 'folded hands', another couple similar to that of the proper right hand side followed by a male figure with a long lute held similarly across the body. All these figures have been carved turned towards the *lalāṭa-bimba*. It is, however, the sur-lintel which is very interesting. On the proper right hand side of the pediment of the *rathikā* are the *navagrahas*, rightly recognised as such by Cunningham.[13] Rodgers, even though he referred to

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Cunningham's view, did not identify these figures properly and simply observed that "To the left are first one Nāga, then one head, then seven other figures, or nine in all".[14] Sūrya is seated with both legs drawn together holding a lotus in either hand, followed by Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛihaspati, Śukra and Śani—all in *lalitāsana* with right hand in *abhaya-mudrd* 'protection affording pose' and left hand holding a waterpot or resting on the left knee. Rāhu with prominent bust with hands in *tarpana-mudrā* 'pose of offering oblations' and Ketu with folded hands having anthropomorphic upper half and serpentine lower body are very clearly identifiable. On the other side are again nine figures which were recognized as *Aṣṭa-Śaktis* by Cunningham[15] and described thus by Rodgers : "The uppermost band of the lintel has on the right hand side one male figure, six seated female figures, one with a horse's head, one other male and one Ganesh, in all nine figures."[16] All the figures, however, are male, two handed, holding a waterpot in the left hand placed on the knee with right hand disposed in fear allaying pose. They are all seated in *lalitāsana*. But for the last figure on the extreme side, all the eight are bull headed and can thus be very well identified as *Aṣṭa-Vasu*, the eight Vasus. The depiction of the eight Vasus on the doorway is very interesting and no other similar example is known to us. The extreme figure is unidentifiable but surely, it is not Gaṇeśa.

It is one of the most elaborate and complete doorways which are but very rare in Punjab and Haryana.[17]

A very look at the doorway and its dimensions, however, makes it clear that it cannot be the doorway of any main shrine. We, therefore, think that it may have belonged to the subsidiary shrine of some *pañchāyatana* 'quincunx' temple. Stylistically, it seems to belong to the mature Pratihāra idiom and may be assigned to the last quarter of the ninth or the early tenth century A.D.

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206; "Some Interesting Sculptures from Pehowa", *Research Bulletin (Arts)*, Panjab University, Chandigarh, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (April, 1935), pp. 127-35, Figs. 10; S. P. Shukla, "Relics of Ancient Art from Pehowa", *Ibid.*, Vol. IX (1980), pp. 69-79, Figs. 13; *Sculptures And Terracottas In The Archaeological Museum Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra*, 1983, pp. 50 and 72-73 etc.

2. *CASR*, XIV, p. 103.
3. *Report*, pp. 15-16.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Handa (1985), pp. 130-31, Fig. 3.
7. Some of these are preserved in the Prāchī Śiva Temple, Pehowa while some others have been removed to the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana, Chandigarh.
8. Shukla (1980), pp. 76-77, Fig. 10.
9. *Report*, p. 15.
10. *CASR*, XIV, p. 103.
11. *Report*, p. 16.
12. Rodgers (*Ibid.*) saw only two male and two female musicians with a large female figure at the ends on each side.
13. *CASR*, XIV, p. 103.
14. *Report*, p. 16.
15. *CASR*, XIV, p. 103.
16. *Report*, p. 16.
17. *Ibid.*

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Fig. 2.

Fig.

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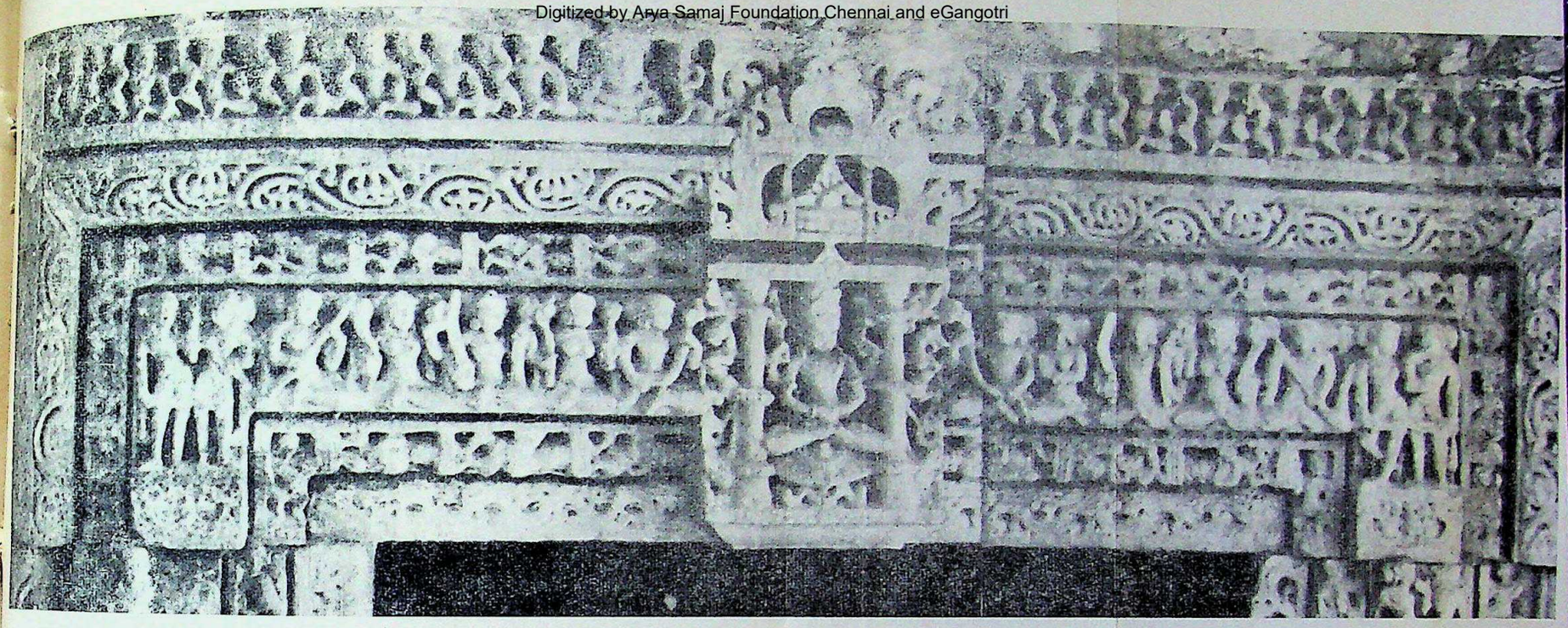

Fig. 2. Lintel of the Doorway

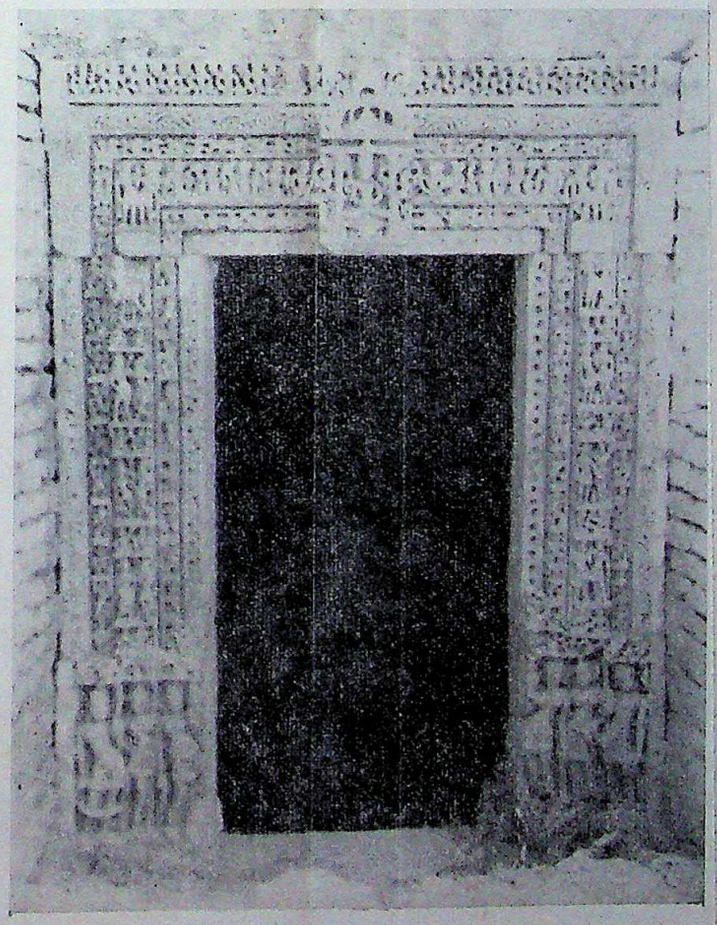

Fig. 1. Pratihāra Doorway from Pehowa

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HISTORY AND HOLISM : A SYSTEMIC APPROACH TO AREA-STUDIES

Sindhu Ratna Kul Bhaskar

> "———arena within which social action takes place and social change occurs is not society in the abstract, but a definite world, a spatio-temporal world, whose spatial scope is co-extensive with the elementary division of labour among its constituent region or parts and whose temporal scope extends for as long as the elementary division of labour continually reproduces the "world" as a social whole (whether on an expanding, contracting or unchanging scale . . . "[1]

The title of this paper, "History And Holism : a systemic approach to area-studies", might ring a note of discord. But those who believe in a global-capitalist-development perspective for analysing events, may relish the points and agree with it. History is not merely a record of events but more definitely, a record of themes. Here the notions of 'events' and 'themes', which form part and parcel of the faculty of history, have different meanings. "Events have causes and that enough of these causes are ascertainable to build up in the human mind, a pattern of past and present sufficiently coherent to serve as a guide to action".[2] Themes are the actions themselves. Themes portray a sense of dynamism, a current which germinates an event, develops it and culminates it, finally leading to an ocean of changes—changes in societies, changes through the annals of history. Thus the premise of the paper is "History is a record of a continuous spatial and temporal process of change of global societies".

The above premise needs to be understood with greater clarity and, after a serialization of its issues, it means —(i) a concept of global-societies, (ii) a spatio-temporal boundary, (iii) a continuous process, and (iv) a record of changes. In very few words, the intention is to focus the development of the capitalist-economy as a singular process,[3] the formation of states within this process and the transformation of the areas within the states—acting as a sub-process or a sub-link or a sub-structure or a sub-culture—to determine the status and role of their

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mother-states, within the ambit of capitalist-father-world-economy.

Needless to emphasize, it is a 'developmentalist', study much in contrast to Frank's[4] 'development of underdevelopment' or Amin's,[5] 'unequal development' or Worsley's,[6] 'Three worlds'. When this paper talks of 'expansion', it is geo-economic expansion, 'secular trend' it is the continuous incorporation of new areas from the 'external arena' of world-economy, 'cyclical rhythms', it is the continuous transformation within the world-economy, 'imperium', it is, then a political machinery to dominate the economic processes. 'Colonialism' becomes the hegemonic control over modes of production-processes. Underdevelopment does not exist in world-system terminology but comprises of inner and outer contradictions operating in a cyclical fashion providing upward or downward mobility. The task of the historians would then be to define or discuss this linear evolutionary momentum of changes, sometimes explicitly and sometimes implicitly perceived.

Holistic Concept in History

The concept of 'global-societies' at once, catapults the level of analysis to the global-whole, which is a single economic-system comprising several geographical areas which are its component-units, or simply, its parts. This economic whole has a secular trend of geo-economic consumption of parts, (spatial process) with cyclical rhythms (temporal process). However, one may encounter the question, as to why the local phenomena should be complicated by aligning it, unnecessarily, with the international phenomenon. Often, for many, this may sound reasonable but after a careful scrutiny, such questions can be ignored. If we divorce a local issue with the national-whole (state), we are grossly committing the crime of amputation, or truncating the interpretative part. Similarly if we cast aside the national issue from the global-whole, we are deceiving ourselves by deliberately closing our eyes to reality. If we ponder for a while, haven't the OPEC prices destablized the national economy and put a greater burden on the tractor-owning agriculturists ? We have now started talking of 'global-villages', and, in correspondence with this, our modus operandi for analysing changes should evolve a wider and a broader approach, and, formulation of any such methodology and concept will help in interpreting the processes of change at micro-levels from a macro-platform.

What exactly is this concept of 'global-societies/global-processes/world-system' ? It is a Gestalt, a singular social whole, comprising inter-

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related and integrated units. Parts maintain the whole, while the whole creates parts — a dynamic concept of change and development, nevertheless, dichotomous. But 'the whole is greater than the sum of its parts'.[7] This whole is neither a simple aggregation of spatio-temporal units nor an embodiment of the development or underdevelopment of spatio-temporal units. It signifies not only the interrelational patterned network within the world-system, but also, the formation and development and growth of the system as a singular process. Parts are thus sub-processes of the world-system. Any analysis should not default by assuming and considering 'the area under study' a separate autonomous unit. It is always the whole which keeps structuring and relocating the units within. Thus, any historical interpretation should be made in the light of its (whole) spatial and temporal co-ordinates.

In this concept, 'time' and 'space' are not qualitative or quantitative physical attributes. It is, again, a spatio-temporal whole, a spatial-temporal process, a holistic scheme to determine the meandering course of history. Space refers to the structuring and re-structuring of parts within the whole, while time denotes the 'speed' or 'velocity' of strctuural integration and not the chronology of events. And, the relational aspect of this spatial-temporal process explains the formation, the volume and density of the stratified areas. The secular trend of spatio-temporal processes creates an arena for continuous changes with cyclical rhythms—conditions of action, outcome of actions as well as the constraints on the outcome—remembering that this whole is a singular economic process constituting one single-economy. Hence to emphasize again, a historian can ill-afford to overlook such vital processes while locating changes through historical developments.

Systematic-theory for a Dynamic Structural-functional Area-study

Let us begin with the construction of a systemic theory. "The fundamental focus for the analysis of the system as a differentiated one concerns the ways in which roles within it are differentiated, and, they in turn integrated, that is 'meshed' to form a functioning system".[8] Every component-unit is a part of a process of interaction between the whole and the parts. Since it is a system of interaction between units, it is also the structure of the relations between the units as involved in the interactive process, which is essentially the structure of the economic-system.

Division of labour (an economic process) divides the global-areas into several, rather, dyadic economic zones and their status conforms to

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the nature of their function—core (manufacturing units), periphery (extractive and raw material suppliers), and, semiperiphery—in between on the continuum scale—(peripheral-process in relation to the cores and core-processes in relation to the peripheral neighbourhood). Law of Accumulation, the secular trend, guides the division of labour and makes it responsible for all the cyclical fluctuations of the world-economy through the machinery of 'unequal exchange' between the whole and its parts.

The politics of world-economy operates through the machinery of 'interstate or international-system'—relational alliances of the parts within the whole. In the context of this paper, this machinery exposes the conflicts over the economic-processes and the need to create a balance of power (reminiscent of the armed truce of the Great War days). Hegemonism or absolute control had occurred in three cycles only —Dutch (1625-50/72), British (1815-1850/73), and the U.S. (1945-67)[9], otherwise, a state of rivalry/conflict had been and has been the normal pattern of this economic system. Hereby, it becomes the task of the historians to determine the nature of 'imperium'—oftentimes labelled 'colonialism', oftentimes 'informal empire' and oftentimes 'neo-colonialism—(remember that imperium or imperialism transcends territorial boundaries in a bid to control economic processes and is an undertaking of the cores or centres levered with political prowess of their state-machineries)—which alters and explains which way the wind blows. Furthermore, the core-imperium ensures that there is a political machinery in the periphery to counteract the core-periphery dichotomous relations. The formation of quasi-juridical-sovereign state and the integration of new areas for the same (formation of a fluid-political state machinery) gives research scholars an opportunity to locate the birth-pangs experienced by an area to constitute a nation-state, though fluid, vis-a-vis the interstate system.

With the creation of a state of such nature, the social-system gets transformed vis-a-vis the world-society. The secular trend of the whole is reflected in the parts and the same manifestations appear in the areas. To be more precise, with world-bourgeoisie and world-proletariat (core-periphery), state-bourgeoisie and state-proletariat appear which finally find its counterparts in the areas—local bourgeoisie and local proletariat. Thus, even an area becomes a mirror of the world-class groupings, and it has its ramifications in households. The complete as well as the incomplete processes of proletarianization and bourgeoising speaks for the alienation, the inherent contradiction of the world-system. "All

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social systems are, at one time or another, plagued by contradictory functional requirements (or imperatives) and these are associated with the formation of mutual and antagonistic structural arrangements that function to meet these requirements[10]. Implied in this notion is that some of these mutually contradictory structures may actually be essential to the 'operation' or 'maintainence' of the system. Sjoberg[11] identifies three sources of contradictory demands—the needs of the internal system alone, the disjunctiveness between internal needs and external constraints and the conflict among the external constraints themselves. It means yet again, restructuring and relocation within the system. With the growth of consciousness, a new sub-culture with a new totem, a new linguistic-synthesis, a new scientific compromise develops. This sub-culture poses a contra-challenge to the bourgeois culture of the state, which is accommodative of the bourgeois-world-culture-system. Areas become the coterie of anti-systemic movements as in their womb grow peasant-revolts, social reform movements, democratic revolutions, national revolutions etc. etc., aiming to extricate their state from the whole so as to have an autonomy in modes of production, political determinism, social reconstruction, cultural regeneration and a national-state formation.

Figure 1 explains the movements of the systemic and anti-systemic processes. To elucidate further, the paper cites the example of the indigo rebellion in the province of Bengal in 1860. The most pertinent question now is, was it a stray, secluded incident with a regional nature ? To consider it so will be to overlook the dynamism of the capitalist world system. Since India had been a periphery of the world-economy vis-a-vis the British capitalist domination, all the parts of India faced the same imperialist aggression. The growing areas of cultivation and decreasing production of indigo in India and its fluctuating market abroad made it an unprofitable article for the peasants. It appeared to be the most potent factor of agrarian disturbances in 1859-60. That Cultivation (of indigo) is not the result of free agency, but, it is always compulsory,[12] portrays the real nature of the cultivation of this commodity and the real status of the planters. Now placing these facts in the model of figure 1, it means that the biggest rectangle is the imperialist nation of Britain which was exerting pressure on the state of India. The colonial status of India or its peripheral situation was reflected in the province of Bengal. This situation compelled the Bengal cultivators to produce indigo on their lands as India was in a subordinate position. This shows the systemic process of how the

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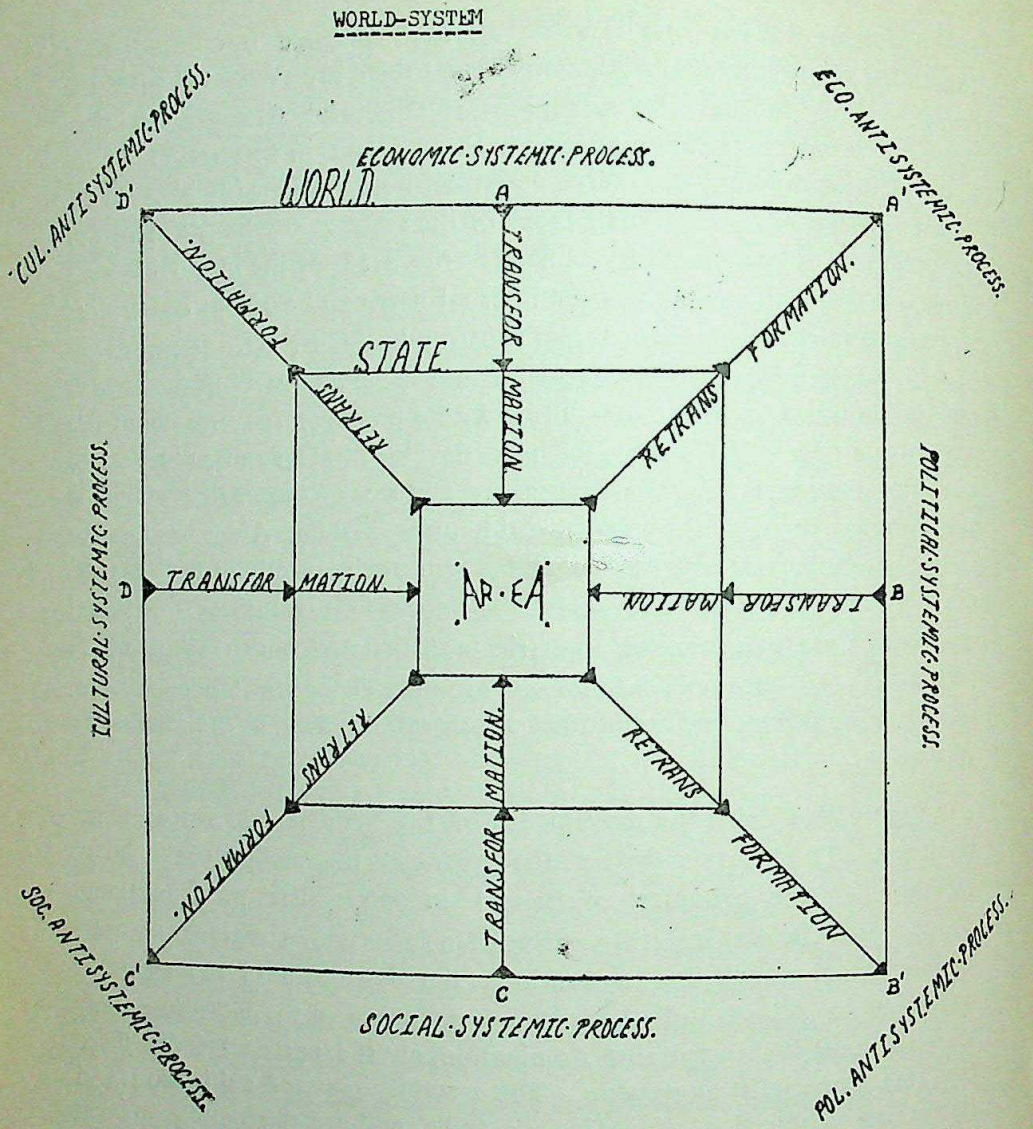

Figure 1

HOLISTIC PARADIGM FOR A SYSTEMIC APPROACH

IN HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

British economy needed the Bengal province to produce indigo.

To articulate the anti-systemic process, again as per figure 1, one will have to take the province of Bengal in the first instance. The economic oppression led to a revolt by indigo cultivators. As and when the consciousness of the revolt became manifest, it merged with the revolutionary consciousness of the other provinces. The leaders came

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under one banner like the Indian National Congress and demanded that the deprivation end. With this economic upsurge, the political and cultural antagonism combined to culminate in the national struggle against British imperialism. So we can mark the trend of the movement rising from various coteries of India aiming to get rid of the continuing proletarianization and pauperization of the peoples and periphera lization of the Indian economy.

The theoretical network ceases here, and, a historian is now overloaded with thoughts. No historical interpretation would be universally valid unless such a 'top-to-bottom, and, bottom-to-top interrelational structural-functional network' provides the rostrum for taking into consideration the historical developments and changes of the area under study.

Methodology

The systemic approach "gives evidence of being a very useful method of interpreting a wide array of problems. Some authors consider it a basic reorientation of scientific thinking in general, the redefinition of the paradigm, the retreat from the atomistic and mechanistic approach of the 19th century toward a holistic image of reality"[13].

To interpret historical development and changes within a holistic scheme, it needs a greater clarity of the relevant-relational nature of the archival sources and statistical datas. A two-way methodology has to be adopted—a 'generalized' one which gives the statistical account of cases as a whole, and, a 'specific' one which helps in formulating a relational historical story of events and conditions at a time. If the unit of analysis is a particular area, one must understand its status within the capitalist world-economy, that is, whether the area under consideration is a sub-part of the core, semiperiphery or periphery of the world-system. Further, for greater understanding, if the area is within a semi-periphery, what its functional status and role is—a core-status-process or peripheral-status-process, and, what type of political machinery, social organization and cultural group it is creating—reason being the structural-relational nature of whole and parts, parts and sub-parts, sub-parts and sub-sub-parts and so on, similarly, the functional-relational nature of process and sub-processes, sub-processes and sub-sub-processes and so on, and finally, the structural functional-relational network-world-system and state-system, state-system and area-system, area-system and group-system and so on.

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Supposing, we proceed with the accumulation-process to present a viable analysis, the inner and outer boundaries (their historical context and their functional role, the identification of growth-poles, for example, towns, ports etc., patterns of trade-economy, and, relation between world-state/area/boundaries that is, mapping the mode of incorporation) of the area need to be fixed. Second task is to record over periods of time, the production of essential commodities in the area under study, transformation of non-capitalist commodities creating pre-capitalist/non-capitalist accumulation to capitalist commodities leading to capitalistic accumulation of capital, and, its relative contribution to the development of capitalist world-economy. The resulting differential distribution will, thus, contribute to the chart of uneven development vis-a-vis systemic differentiation. This will contribute to our research in determining the shifting position of 'peoples' in the shifting area-economy within the continually altering state-economy of the continuous repatterning of the world economic division of labour. The price/wage coordinates, labour/capital relations can be recorded with a careful interpretation of the price-history of the area and its production/exchange statistics. In the light of such statistical charts, a document of the monetization of economy, a migrational-labour movement and an overall correlation can be prepared for the area in its entirety—economy/polity/society/culture.

Such methodology not only broadens the spectrum of history but also, explains a particular historical development of a particular area within the all-pervasive purview of the world-system.

The paper concludes with the earlier statement, "History is a record of changes within a systemic-whole (world), and Countries are the units while the areas of a country (the country becomes a whole in such a circumstances) are the sub-units" and

> "this arena of modern social action and modern social change has been and continues to be the modern world-system which emerges in the sixteenth century...has grown through cycles of expansion and contraction in its geographical scope, in its productive capacity, in its integration as a whole (world scale interdependence) and its penetration and organization of social relations . . . the phases of its cycles....are not only the continuous consequences of social action, but also very real conditions of such actions and very real constraints on their outcomes".[14]

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ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN EARLY MEDIEVAL BUNDELKHAND

K. K. Shah

Defining Bundelkhand is a difficult task. It is at best a 'geographical expression' in the heart of India. The name owes its origin to the Bundela Thakurs inhabiting the area. The British rulers found it convenient to call the land after them. Of late, the peculiar brand of Hindi spoken by the masses and known as Bundeli has also been made the basis for fixing the boundaries of Bundelkhand. Albeit, for the purposes of the present paper, historical frontiers (which are also the natural ones in the form of rivers) figuring in epigraphic records[1] are accepted. The study is based on the data collected from this region half of which falls in Uttar Pradesh and half in Madhya Pradesh.

The Economy of any region is largely influenced by its climate and geographical factors. The earliest among the detailed accounts available to us is from the British Officers of the nineteenth century who highlighted the perennial poverty haunting the province on account of geographical and natural factors.

Lying within the folds of the Vindhyan range, Bundelkhand is a marked geographical unit. From the hills, numerous streams flow north or north-east towards the Jamuna, of which the most important are the Betwa, Dhasan, Birma, Ken, Baghain, Paisuni and Southern Tons. Barring one or two, all these rivers go dry even before the summer sets in. Till the dawn of the current century not more than 4% of the cultivated area was under irrigation.

The alluvial plain contains a large proportion of disintegrated trap which gives it a dark colour. Bāṇa, the court-historian of emperor Harsha, compares the black-soil of the Bundelkhand fields with black iron and refers to its production being primarily through spade culture.[1A] The vernacular equivalent of the black soil is *mār*. This is ideally suited to growing wheat. The light coloured variety called *Kābar* poses a serious ploughing problem to the peasant. Goes there a native proverb down

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the ages :

"Kābar is too wet to plough one morning and too dry to plough the next."

A yellow-coloured soil known as *rākar* spreads between Jhansi and Lalitpur. Though Black soil retains a little moisture, it requires irrigation in unfavourable seasons. In dry weather the land opens out in large cracks. Irrigation from wells is difficult owing to the low spring level, and the storage tanks made by throwing embankments across the valleys do not cover large areas.

Obviously Bundelkhand is particularly liable to suffer from deficient rain fall. Among other natural calamities prevalence of rust after a wet or cloudy winter is one. Quite often the growth of a weed or grass called Kāns is also a problem as it spreads rapidly and requires a lot of labour to be rooted out. In 1867 the crops failed and in 1868-69 there was famine attended with incalculable loss of cattle. Again, in 1872 murrain caused extensive loss of cattle.

Another cycle of bad years commenced from the early nineties. The year 1892 and 1893 brought blight and rust whereas 1894 followed with floods resulting from excessive rains. Drought came in 1895 and 1896, which was, to say the least, disastrous. The population of Bundelkhand decreased by 10½ percent between 1891-1901.

A systematic and well-documented collection of climatic and geographic data commenced with the British rule and it is to their meticulous records that we owe the above detailed survey.[2] The geo-climatic events and conditions highlighted by them could not be radically different from the remote past that we have to work in, and so, there cannot be serious objection to our visualising the politico-economic picture of those days (which is necessarily affected by them) since our own sources are silent and scanty on the subject. To illustrate our point, the unmetalled roads of Bundelkhand are even now impassable during the rainy season owing to the tenacious mud formed on them. The situation must have been even more miserable when none of the roads was metalled, posing a serious problem of communication. Most of the mountainous fastnesses and forests of the area remained occupied by the aboriginal tribes. The region, for all practical purposes, remained 'Peripheral', one hardly ever reaching the 'core' status, though occupying the heart of India.

Prior to the advent of the Chandellas, pockets of prosperity did shape

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up and survive for some time. Eran was one such pocket where the excavations have laid bare a settlement of Chalcolithic people dating back to the second millennium before Christ.[3] The same site latter had the privilege of being the 'pleasure city' of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta.[4] It also enjoyed the status of being a *Viṣaya*-headquarter. Under the Mauryas and the Guptas, it appears that the imperial hold was chiefly confined to the areas through which ran routes from the North to the South. Available evidence does speak of a king ruling here or a potentate governing there but a local centre of power with a line of kings fails to emerge.

As a matter of fact, the making and maintaining of any such centre of power depended on a strong army which in turn, presupposed the generation of surplus revenue. But geo-climatic conditions as described above, did not permit the accumulation of this surplus revenue till the emergence of the Chandellas who made extra efforts to generate it for building a strong army as well as beautiful temples. Being sons of the soil they understood the geo-climatic limitations and set about working out a sort of agrarian revolution, transforming in turn, the subsistence economy till then prevalent, into a surplus one.

Let us first have a look at the evidence speaking clearly of this surplus production. We do not have the statistical data in terms of industrial output and commercial transactions to measure the level of prosperity under the Chandellas. We will have to devise our own ways in interpreting the evidence and ascertaining the fact. It goes without saying that the making and maintaining of a strong and large army is possible only with surplus revenue available in huge quantities. We do have some data on the military strength that the Chandellas could build and field in times of war. Even Mahmud, the unbeaten invader of early-medieval India was unnerved casting a look at the Chandella army.[5] King Vidyadhara is known to have commanded an army consisting of 56,000 horse, 184,000 foot, and 746 elephants.[6] The might and majesty of this army becomes a fact, supporting the fullness of Chandella treasury. Numismatic and epigraphic evidence does speak of several kings such as Indragupta and Dharmapala[7] in pre-Christian times, Simhasena[8] and Sridharavarman[9] in pre-Gupta Period, or again, king Udayana[10] in post-Gupta times having ruled in Bundelkhand but none among them could consolidate his power to this extent of building a sound economic base. Such, indeed, was the prosperity that the composer of Mau-Chandella inscription was constrained to admit that in the assembly of Sallakṣaṇavarmadeva there was not perceived any difference whatever

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between the kings doing homage to him and his other dependants, from the similarity of their garments glittering with quantities of gold and jewels.[11]

Another indication of this economic revolution is reflected in the marvellous and magnificient temples of Khajuraho, Mahoba, Ajaygadh and the slightly less marvellous and magnificent temples existing in varying states of destruction in every nook and corner of the region. Raising of such temples required royal patronage and so also did their repairs and worship. Of course, most of the Jain temples and a few among the Brahmanical ones owe their construction to private financing but royal initiative or encouragement cannot be totally ruled out. None among the available land records speaks of revenue or lands being granted for worship in and maintenance of these temples. Only a couple of stone inscriptions from Khajuraho mention the fact vaguely.[12] Yet the making and maintaining of these temples whose number ran into several dozens must have taken a large slice of royal revenue. If this fact is studied in conjunction with the available copper-plates by which income from dozens of villages was made over to the secular and religious grantees for all times to come, the share of royal revenue so taken away becomes simply incalculable. Nevertheless, if the chandellas could build the kind of army referred to above whence came this boom and bonanza? Nothing short of an economic revolution must have made this miracle which all the predecessor governments failed to bring about, possible.

The Government must have done a lot by way of encouraging agricultural output, and promoting trade and industry but our records hardly reveal anything in this regard. Yet the biggest boon that the chandellas onferred is evident in their inscriptions and tradition. The geo-climatic conditions highlighting the total dependence of peasants on rain fall have already been noted. The government set about the tremendous task of building innumerable embankments and excavating tanks to tackle the water problem. Inscriptions are as vocal on the point as is tradition and together they establish our point on this score. Verse 38 of the Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga makes mention of a large tank ordered to be dug by king Yaśovarman.[13] Line 10 of the Khajuraho stone inscription of Kokalla refers to Atiyaśobala of the Grahapati family who built tanks full of water in which lotuses bloomed.[14] In the Jhansi stone Inscription of Sallakṣaṇasimha also we are informed of a tank having been dug and a grove planted.[15] The Mau-chandella inscription mentions more tanks

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than one built by the ministers figuring in it. Verse 47 refers to Gadādhara getting a tank excavated near village Deddu charming in its masonry of many broad stones. Verse 48, though broken, makes clear reference to another tank which had water pale like the Moon. Verse 49 commemorates yet another tank of good water in the proximity of the village Kendi.[16] As a matter of fact, the memory of some chandella kings has been preserved simply by the large lakes excavated by them and, therefore, named after them. The Kiratsāgar and Madansāgar lakes near Mahoba have carried the names of Kirtivarman and Madanavarman down the corridor of time.[17] The Semra Copper Plates of Paramardideva refer to the Ajayasāgar tank—perhaps after the name of his minister Ajayadeva or Senāpati Ajayapāla.[18] Such was the magnitude of the water-problem that even the queens did not lag behind and came forward to finance the making of water-reservoirs. In the Ajaygadh Rock inscription of King Vīravarman, Queen Kalyāṇadevī is recorded to have ordered the excavation of a tank resembling an ocean as also a *nirjara* well just out of compassion and to sustain life.[19] That water was at times a crucial factor in deciding the fortunes of combatants in war is very well brought home by the circumtances in which the Muslims could capture Kālañjara. The King was disposed to surrender at one stage but not so the minister Aj Deo who put up a resistance till he was compelled to capitulate in consequence of a severe drought having dried up all the water reservoirs that had been supporting 50,000 men for months past,[20] inside the fort.

The problem of drinking water takes precedence over the problem of water for irrigation. The excavation of a well or Vāpi acquired religious dimension elsewhere in India also, earning the highest merit for the person financing it. We are yet to come across an epigraphic record in Bundelkhand where a baoli or step-well forms a fit enough theme for composing a *praśasti*.

No less glowing are the tributes paid in the Narwar inscription in which a chief, Gaṅgadeva, seeing the decrease in religious merit ordered the excavation of a Vāpi to make good the loss.[21] The waters of the well being clean stand for real representation of religious merit and, in fact, are considered supperior to all other forms of religious merit and are compared with the high-souled, high-minded and noble-hearted.

We have noted above the frequency of famine as a regular phenomenon on the agrarian scene of Bundelkhand in British times.

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The Chandellas made an all-out effort to overcome the deficiency and seem to have succeeded a good deal. The entire area is interspersed with numerous tanks and temples which tradition ascribes to 'Chandelli Raj.' Much of the majesty and magnificence of Khajuraho and other temples would have been missing had the surplus revenue not been generated by tackling the problem of agriculture with tank irrigation.

The surplus production must have contributed to the boom in trade which can be merely postulated from the uncertain light given by records and tradition. The direct link between production and trade is difficult to establish but the growing urbanisation of the period is indicative of a spurt in commerce and business. Tradition avers that in its palmy days Mahoba was a metropolis with fifty-two towns or bazars included in it.[22] The explanation appears to be that Mahoba happened to be the chief town in a *baoni* or paragana of fifty-two towns or villages. It would be unfair to discount the tradition absolutely for we do have a number of references to prosperous towns in the epigraphic records of the Period.[23] Where these fail us, we possess a wealth of archaeological remains attesting the fact. Khajuraho needs no description. From Siron (Lalitpur dist.) we have just one record but it speaks volumes, leaving not a shadow of a doubt about the trade activity transacted in the town.[24] About half a dozen temples referred to in this record were all raised and maintained by private finance. A number of manufacturing classes also find mention. An Ajaygadh inscription testifies to the existence of thirty six towns, obviously in Bundelkhand.[25] The Jains were basically a business community. From a Khajuraho record we learn that Pahilla, an illustrious man of this class was held in high esteem by King Dhangadeva. An idea of his capital resources can be easily formed from the fact that through this single document he made an endowment of no less than seven gardens to the temple.[26]

Possibly the Chandellas also exploited the forest wealth of the region making special arrangements. Of the nature of forest produce collected and marketed, we have hardly any idea but a special officer on forest duty finds frequent mention in their land records.[27]

Prof. H. D. Sankalia has discussed the economic background of the building of the Khajuraho temples. He is of the view that the Chandellas found not only excellent sandstone but diamond mines as well in their domain to finance the founding of the temple city.[28] But

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we have no exact idea whether the mines were functional at the time. The available evidence does not speak anything on the point. Secondly, even if diamonds played some role in the raising of the Khajuraho temples, we have many more standing elsewhere for whom factors other than diamonds have to be found. In any case the data collected and presented above is enough to convince us that Bundelkhand witnessed a revolution in its economy in the early-medieval period.

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उपायै इतरैः सिद्धम् क्षीयमाणभ् विलोक्य सः पुण्यम् वर्धिष्णु तत्कुर्वन् वापिम् एताम् अकारयत्

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DR. GOKUL CHAND NARANG'S OUTLOOK TOWARDS PUNJAB'S COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES

Naranjan Dass Mohaya

The main theme of this paper is to highlight the work of Dr. Gokul Chand Narang in maintaining communal harmony between the major communities of the Punjab province. He was born on 15th November, 1878 in village Baddoke Gosain in Gujaranwala district.[1] His father Lala Mool Raj was a village-banker of middle class status. "His mother's name was Ganga Devi.[2] He had close associations with some of the prominent Arya Samaj leaders, such as Bhai Parmanand, Lala Sain Das, Nanak Chand Pandit, Dina Nath, Mahashe Krishan, Labh Singh, Dr. Diwan Chand Chaddha, and Lala Lajpat Rai.[3] He was elected President of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Sabha in 1929-30. He was a Minister for Local Self Government Punjab 1930-37.[4] His way of tackling the critical situation of cummunal problems was admirable. Many communal riots broke out in the province due to different causes—social, economic, political, religious and historical which disfigured the province. It is very difficult to mention here all communal disturbances which occurred in the province, but we cannot overlook those communal feuds where he toiled with his intellect, to patch up deteriorated relations between communities. According to Pandit Ram Lal Tara, "No communal cry could sway him. No awe or fear stood in his way of doing even-handed justice to all communities".[5]

The peace of Rawalpindi was disturbed owing to a Sikh-Muslim communal riot which broke out on the night of 14th June, 1926 outside the Singh Sabha.[6] The cause of this feud was a Sikh procession and a Sikh festival with a band playing.[7] The real background of this communal disturbance was that Malik Mohan Singh who was President, Municipal Committee Rawalpindi, had a piece of land situated at the back of the Jama Masjid. There was a narrow lane between the two Malik Mohan Singh had given this land on lease to two Sikhs from Peshawar for erecting a cinema thereon.[8] The erection of a cinema house in the vicinity of a mosque by some Sikhs had been the cause of tension for a considerable length of time.[9] Many Muslims were wounded in this riot.[10]

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The Lahore Hindu Sabha, deputed Raja Narendranath and Dr. Gokul Chand Narang, to enquire into circumstances leading to the correct story of this communal riot. Both visited Rawalpindi on 16 June, 1926. They stated that heavy damage had been caused due to fire and neither the police force nor the military troops had been called upon to use firearms against the mob.[11] They alleged that the police had not made adequate arrangements to prevent looting and arson.[12]

Dr. Gokul Chand Narang raised a question in the Punjab Legislative Council about the casualities and other loss of property in the Rawalpindi riot, in reply to which Sir Geoffrey DeMontmorency, the Home Member of the Province, stated that 12 Muslims, 2 Sikhs, and 2 Hindus had lost their lives and among the wounded were 48 Muslims, 29 Hindus and 13 Sikhs.[13] The communal riot at Rawalpindi had led to a certain amount of undesirable writing in the press. Dr. Gokul Chand Narang tried to calm down both the communities by his active participation in suppressing the riot. An atmosphere of mutual distrust and resentment had been engendered by the events of the previous two years, and the murder of Swami Sharddhananda increased the gravity of the situation.[14] 1927 was no better. Tension between the Hindus and the Muslims was at its worst.[15]

A horrible Sikh-Muslim riot occurred in Kabli Mull's Havelli in Dabbi Bazaar, Lahore, on the night of 3rd May, 1927.[16] The conflict originated in a young Muslim irritating and insulting a Sikh woman.[17] In the communal riot, 3 Muslims were killed and 5 wounded.[18] There were attacks on both the communities. This constituted a form of lawlessness which was difficult to deal with.[19]

Mr. Miles Irving the then Commissioner of Lahore, invited Dr. Narang to attend a joint conference of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh leaders, to find out ways and means of alleviating communal hatred and establishing peace and order in Lahore.[20] All the leaders decided to devise plans to prevent further rioting.[21] Dr. Gokul Chand Narang expressed the view that the Government should keep control over a particular section of the press. He stressed that some of the Muslim papers were fanning communal passions by publishing irresponsible statements.[22]

Every year since 1922 the province had witnessed communal feuds on an extensive, and in fact, increasing scale, and in 1927 the dark clouds of communal disturbances burst severely on this province and ruined the atmosphere of peace and tranquillity. Even in 1928, when the people

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were united and raising slogans against the Simon Commission, communal riots did not diminish. The agitation against kine-slaughter, propaganda on the part of biogoted Hindu preachers and agitators, accompanied by corresponding counter propoganda by fanatical Muslim Maulvis and Mullahs was responsible for two serious outbreaks in South-Eastern Punjab.[23] The Softa riot which occurred on 30th May, 1928, in the Gurgaon district was the most typical.[24] Softa village was inhabited by Muslims of the Meo Tribe and was surrounded by the Hindu Jat villagers.[25] The root cause of this riot was cow sacrifice on the occasion of 'Id', but the Hindu Jats of the neighbouring villages objected to this particular cow on the ground that it had been accustomed to graze in their fields.[26] The owner of this particular cow was a Muslim.[27] This cow dispute created bad blood between both the communities.

The Hindus of Lahore convened a public meeting under the Chairmanship of Dr. Gokul Chand Narang and Bhai Parma Nand. Lala Khushal Chand and Sardar Mangal Singh also attended this meeting. Dr. Gokul Chand Narang expressed the view that the Government should be compelled to take effective steps to prevent such deplorable incidents. He further opined that the tragic deaths at Softa village were due to the incitement of outsiders and the local inhabitants were not to blame.[28]

At Malikpur village, situated 3 miles north-east of Ropar in Ambala district a deplorable Muslim-Hindu riot occurred on 31st May, 1928.[29] The cause of this riot was a cow-slaughter on the occasion of the 'Id' day.[30] In this tragic and unfortunate riot there were 11 deaths and 10 serious injuries.[31] Dr. Gokul Chand Narang and Bhai Parma Nand said that the tragic deaths at this village were due to the incitement of outsiders and not of local inhabitants.[32] The Government took preventive measures on account of the tense situation caused by the riot at Malikpur, and a company of the 4th/12th Frontier Force Regiment was stationed at Ropar.[33]

There was an old dispute between the Sikhs and the Hindus regarding the possession of some shops belonging to a religious institution at Daska in the Sialkot district.[34] In the year 1928, the Sikhs of this place threatened to take forcible possession of the shops occupied by the Hindus. All the Hindu tenants filed a civil suit in the Court of the Senior Sub-Judge at Sialkot, and on 22 May, 1929, obtained a permanent injunction restraining the Akalis from disturbing the occupancy of the Hindu tenants.[35] The Akalis claimed that this institution was a Gurdwara built by Sant Waryam Singh, while the Hindus claimed that it

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was a Dharamsala and was intended to be used as a place for the stay of marriage parties etc. There were 13 shops attached to this institution, out of which 10 were in the occupation of Hindus who paid rent to the Hindu Sabha, Daska. The remaining three were in the occupation of the Sikhs of Daska.[36]

This dispute could not be settled amicably and Master Tara Singh, President of the Central Sikh League and Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee, appealed to Hindu leaders of prominence like Dr. Gokul Chand Narang, Bhai Parma Nand,[37] Pandit Nanak Chand, Dr. Satyapal and others, to settle the dispute through talks at a joint meeting of the Hindus and the Sikhs at Simla. Lala Mukand Lal Puri was nominated by the Hindus to attend this meeting.[38] The talks failed miserably because both sides were adamant about their claims.[39]

The Shiromani Akali Dal on behalf of the conciliation Board, sent telegrams to Dr. Satyapal and Master Sunder Singh at Lahore requesting that Dr. Satyapal should fix 10 October, 1931 for the final settlement with the Hindu leaders. The Dal desired at this meeting the presence of Dr. Gokul Chand Narang, Messrs Labh Singh, Mukand Lal Puri and representatives from Daska. Master Mota Singh, Gyani Sher Singh, Sardar Bhagwan Singh and Sardar Tara Singh were nominated to represent the Dal.[40]

Dr. Gokul Chand Narang tried his best to bring about a settlement between the Hindus and Muslims, over the Daska affair but all in vain.[41] The other prominent leaders of the Congress were also present there to help the parties to arrive at a settlement.[42] Akali Jathas were being sent to Daska to usurp this institution. Lala Ganga Ram in his telegram to Dr. Gokul Chand Narang, informed him of the willingness of the Hindus to settle the feud provided the morcha was withdrawn unconditionally.[43] Through the untiring efforts of Dr. Gokul Chand Narang, the Hindus of Daska agreed to leave the question of the long-drawn conflict entirely in his hands.[44] On 17 April, 1932, Dr. Narang persuaded both the parties and they affixed their signatures on a document purporting to entrust the settlement to Sir Sunder Singh Majithia and Raja Narendranath. This feud disturbed the peace of the province for a long time.

Dr. Gokul Chand Narang worked hard to unite other communities. He joined the Jat-Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore, with Bhai Parma Nand, to promote communal harmony, and on 16 August, 1930, a meeting was held

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where it was decided to enroll members for the All India Jat-Pat-Torak Census Committee.[45]

Dr. Gokul Chand Narang was the Minister for Local Self Government from 1930-1937.[46] According to Pandit Ram Lal Tara, "Historically he went on performing his duties according to the dictates of his conscience unswayed by the fury and frowns of the communalists. His regime of 7 years as a Minister of the Crown was a brilliant success from all points of view."[47]

A Hindu-Muslim riot broke out on 2 March 1939 in the Karmo Deori Bazaar in Amritsar, while a 'Tazia' procession was passing.[48] As is usual, the immediate cause of this feud was trivial. A Muslim accompanying the Moharram procession through the Karmo Deori Bazaar, hit against a tray full of sweets on the platform of a Hindu shopkeeper.[49] The shopkeeper lost his temper and threw boiling ghee on the members of the procession. This was followed by rioting between both the communities.[50] Dr. Gokul Chand Narang visited Amritsar and heard the grievances of both the communities[51] and tried to pacify them.

The situation in the Punjab was more complicated than in other provinces. In the riots of 1947 he visited different camps and was shocked to see the tragic deaths of the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims.[52] Dr. Gokul Chand Narang always tried his best to patch up strained relations between different communities of the Punjab province. He passed away on 24th February, 1969.[53]

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PEOPLE'S VOCATIONS IN MUGHAL INDIA

S. P. Sangar

We learn from the contemporary Hindi and English sources that people in the 17th century kept themselves engaged in various economic activities and pursued multifarious professions, agriculture being the foremost among them. Next in importance was commerce. The Indian society being caste-ridden, people carried on professions of their forefathers. Our authorities refer to the following professions in the 17th century India.

There were businessmen, *modis* and *banjāras*; minstrels and dancing minstrels; magicians and jugglers; snake-charmers; barbers and *kahārs*; *gandhis* or perfume-sellers; cowherds; *tambolis* and *bāris*; weavers; *kalāls* or wine-sellers; goldsmiths and blacksmiths; potters and gardeners; *vaids* or physicians; *mahauts* or elephant-drivers; charioteers and boatsmen; artists and painters; masons and carpenters; huntsmen and butchers; thieves and robbers. Among women there was the profession of prostitution.

Commerce :

The common term in Hindi for commerce or sale and purchase of articles was *Vanij* or *Banij*.[1] Another word used for this was *Byopār*.[2] The trader was called *Byāpāri* or *Byaupāri*.[3] *Sāhūs* and *Saudāgars* were big merchants. Other terms in common use were : *Banik*,[4] *Bania*[5] and *Mahājan*.[6] The wares were known by the name of *Gaṭhs*. Other terms for the same were : *Māl, Vastu, Saunj* and *Saudā*.[7] The word *Saudā* also meant striking a bargain or settlement of the price of articles.[8] A customer was called *Grāhak*[9] who could purchase articles on payment of price.[10] The capital money was known as *Mūl* or *Pūnji*, the profit earned by businessmen as *Nafa* or *Lāha*, and the loss sustained as *Hāni*. The first sale of the morning was *Bohni*. A good *Bohni* was always regarded as auspicious as, in particular business code, on it depended the subsequent sale of the day.[16] The place where they dealt in gold and silver and other precious metals, was *Sarāfah*. Malik Mohammad Jāyasi terms it as *Kaṇak-Hāt*, *kaṇak* meaning gold. *Sarāfi* was the business in

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gold.[17] Tulsi Dās refers to the shops of cloth-merchants. Commission agents were called *Dalāls*.[19]

Women selling vegetables and fruits would go with their wares on their heads and call out in the streets of towns and cities. Affluent people or their house-wives asked them to come inside the houses and purchased from them the commodities required. The contemporary Hindi poet Parmānand Dās alludes to the sale of mangoes and *bers* by such women on the insistence of young boys in the house.[20]

Goods were carried by merchants on the backs of oxen or elephants and other animals.[21]

Hindi words for the market were *Bazār*, *Bāzār*, *Haṭāṭ* and *Hāṭ*. *Hāṭ* was also a shop.[22] Jāyasi describes the mart of Simhal. Bernier speaks of the fruit market of Delhi which had large varieties of dry and fresh fruits from India and Persia, Balkh, Bokhāra and Samarqand.[23-a]

The English traveller Coverte who visited India in 1610 found in the towns great *busars*, *bāzārs* or market places. They used to be stocked with articles of merchandise such as cotton and cotton-yarn and wool, swords, javelins and other weapons, arrow-proof armour, coats of mail, turbans and cloth and numerous other articles. There was considerable number of shops dealing in grain.[23]

Manrique was struck with the huge amounts of foodstuffs and dainties of all sorts which he saw in innumerable Indian *bāzārs* in the middle of the 17th century. Entire streets could be seen wholly occupied by expert sweetmeat-makers who proved their skill by "offering wonderful sweet-scented dainties of all kinds which would stimulate the most jaded appetite to gluttony[24]". Tavernier refers to markets which were held annually around a public edifice, whether a tomb or a mosque.[25] John Marshall came across *bāzārs* in towns in Bihār and Orissa selling various provisions[26]. In Calcutta, Alexander Hamilton saw a market town for corn and coarse cloth, butter, oil and other articles[27]. At Ponjelly situated on the east of the Hugli river, there was a corn mart held once or twice a week[28].

For shopkeepers, Peter Mundy uses the word *Pasaaris*.[29] *Chaudhari* was the headman of small traders. He acted as a middleman between Mundy and the *Pansāris*[30]. *Modi* was a grain dealer, a grossér[31].

BANJĀRAS

They were a nomadic tribe of public carriers. In August 1632, Peter Mundy and party met a *tāṇḍa* or a camp of *Banjāras* along with

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a string of 14,000 oxen which were laden with rice and wheat. Each was carrying about four *maunds* of load, one *maund* being equal to 16 gallons. They were going from Āgra to Patna. Mundy had already met many of such *tāṇḍas* of *Banjāras* going from Patna to Āgra from where the grain was again carried to other places. These *Banjāras* used to carry along with them their entire household, i.e., their wives and children. Their course of life was like that of the "Carriers" and they continually used to drive from one place to another. They themselves were the owners of these oxen. Although these oxen were hired occasionally by other merchants, the *Banjāras* were themselves merchants. They purchased grain from places of plenty and took it for sale to places where it was dear; and from those places they purchased and laded other commodities like sugar, salt and butter for sale somewhere else. In one *tāṇḍa* there were usually 600 or 700 persons—men, women and children. Men were very "lustie", women "hardie", and during fights they would lie about them like men. These *Banjāras* went "dispersedly", driving their oxen in front of them, performing a journey of about six miles a day. When the oxen were unladen, they were turned to grazing in the nearby fields. There being plenty of grazing ground in the country, no one objected to this.[32]

The same month Mundy and party came across yet another *tāṇḍa* of oxen numbering 20,000 and laden with sugar, each carrying 2½ English hundredweight worth of load.[33] Earlier, they had seen a line of oxen, 1½ miles long, all thousands of them laden with provisions. Many more were returning to be reladen. Mundy had seen them while sitting on a hill-top. All the "face of the earth, as farr and distant" they could discern, was covered with "greene corne". Here Mundy uses the term *Banjāras* in the general sense of a *caravan*, including drivers, beasts of burden and baggage.[34] On April 21, 1633, Mundy and his party had to make a "Moccame" (*muqām* or halt) between Āgra and Sūrat as a *tānda* of *Banjāras* consisting of oxen laden with provisions was going that way.[35]

"This gipsy tribe", writes Mr. N. R. Cumberlege, "has three distinct divisions, representing the Brahman, Chhatri and Rajput castes ..... its occupation is grain carrying.....At the Dusahra festival, they leave the *kuri* and form a camp called *tanda* which is generally broken up at the Diwali (festival), when the *tanda* moves towards Dumda in the Central Provinces or other known grain markets."[36]

There are references to *Banjāras* in the contemporary Hindi literature as well.[37]

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We come across references to barter system also.[38]

While taking their wares across rivers, merchants were supposed to pay duty to the contractors appointed by the government.[39] Milk carried by the cowherds was absolved from payment of such duty.[40] Duty on other articles was realised on the spot.[41] The man doing so was known as *Jagāti* or *Zakāti*.[42]

The list of merchandise provided by Sūr Dās includes the following items :

Cloves and coconuts; arecanuts; asafoetida; raisins; black and long pepper; *ajwāin*; *kut* and *kaifer* plants; *chirāita* or wormwood plant used in medicine; *majith* or madder; lac; vermilion; *behera* and *harar*.[43] The last is *myrobalan*.

(From the *kut* plant seeds are ground and eaten on fast days. The seeds and aromatic bark of the *kaifar* are used in medicine.)

Astrology :

In medieval India astrology had a firm grip on people's minds and the astrologers had their heyday. Indians of the time were in fact infatuated with astrology. According to Bernier, they were convinced that no event could take place below if it did not happen above. They consulted their astrologers about every thing. Before starting a journey and sending an expedition, the Mughal kings got ascertained from their astrologers the *sāit* or auspicious time for the same. Astrologers had to be consulted before the performance of a marriage, purchase of slaves, wearing of new clothes and for every trifle.[44]

Bernier draws a pen-picture of the Indian *bāzār* in the 17th century which does not differ from that of today. "The wise doctor", (a satirical reference to the Indian astrologer of the day), writes he, was found seated there for hours in the sun on a dusty piece of a carpet, "handling some old mathematical instrument". He had before him a large book representing the signs of the zodiac. He would tell a poor person about his fortune and for this charged him just one paisa! First he examined the hand and face of the applicant; then turned over the leaves of the large book, thus pretending to make certain calculations. Bernier calls these people as impostors who decided upon the *sāit* or auspicious moment when the person was to start his business or anything of the sort.

"Silly women, wrapping themselves in a white cloth from hand to

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foot", flocked to such quacks, whispered all the events of their lives and disclosed all their secrets to them. The ignorant and infatuated people would really believe that the stars had an influence which the astrologers could remove. Their hold was so complete and so close on the contemporary Indian society that even the kings and nobles engaged them on high salaries and never entered into even the most trifling transactions without consulting them. "They read whatever is written in heaven; fix upon the Sahet, and solve every doubt by opening the Koran".[45] Bernier mentions that the principal astrologer of the king fell into water and was drowned. This caused a sensation at the court and proved harmful to the reputation of "professors in divination". He who could foretell the fortune of every one, could not know his own ![46]

The Dutch traveller of the 17th century and a shrewd observer of men and events was much impressed by the ingenuity of the Brāhmaṇa astrologers of his time. They were good astronomers, says he, familiar with the course of the stars, and capable of foretelling the weather. They could reckon eclipses very carefully and clearly. Also they did a great deal of fortune-telling. There were one or two persons with a very high reputation in the city of Āgra at that time. Pelsaert remarks further that once Jahāngīr got a Brāhmaṇa astrologer at his court and most of his prophesies proved accurate. Consequently, the Āgra astrologers who were all Brāhmaṇas acquired reputation and influence over great persons in the city and then over "all the Moslems" to such an extent that they did not undertake a journey before inquiring about the day or hour auspicious for the start. On return from a journey, or for taking up an appointment, they never entered the city until the suitable day or hour had been predicted by the astrologers. They waited till the exact moment arrived. As a result, "many of this rabble" frequented the streets of the city, with book in hand, to tell men their fortune. Even if their prediction had little value, the poor people believed them, "for they always get excellent measure, and their questions are met with ambiguous replies".[47]

If we believe the English traveller Peter Mundy, Shāhjahān had in his employment "wizards" or astrologers, both Hindu and Muslim, who calculated the days and hours which were lucky or unlucky. The king and his nobles never undertook a journey or began any enterprise of "purport" or "importe" but on a day as suggested by these people.[48]

There was not a single great man, writes Manucci, who did not keep

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an astrologer in his house for advice about when to leave the house or wear new clothes. Both the Hindus and Muslims were so credulous that they put faith in all that the astrologers chose to tell them. In fact the Mughal kingdom, remarks Manucci, abounded in the tribe of astrologers who swarmed the *bāzārs*.[49]

The same traveller writes that Dārā Shikoh had a strong faith in astrologers and entertained a large number of them. Their chief was Bhavāni Dās, a close friend of Manucci, with whom he enjoyed drinking bouts. He predicted that Dārā would become king and got assurances of suitable reward. In the battle of 1658, Dārā came to know of the position of Aurangzeb's army and decided to attack. But the traitors intervened on astrological grounds by telling him that the favourable day and time for the battle had not yet come and advised him to postpone the battle. The result proved disastrous for Dārā.[50] The astrologers, continues Manucci, also assured Shuja' that he was bound to become king after the break-out of a rebellion against Shāhjahān. For that reason perhaps he himself rose in rebellion against his father.[51]

Astrologers, according to the contemporary historian Khāfi Khān, had become indispensable at Aurangzeb's court and in the offices of the government. They were regularly employed in the administration and were in the special category of the employees well known to the king. Their services were requisitioned for determining the four crops of the year and also the lunar month. On their calculation alone were determined the salaries of the *jāgīrdārs* and government officials. They were also consulted for working out the exact time for every good and bad work. They also laid out the almanac. Aurangzeb took the bold step of dispensing with the services of all the astrologers who were government employees. They were forbidden to predict the auspicious time for various things. The office people, however, showed unusual promptness in bringing out to the notice of the king the impossibility of the implementation of such an order. It was the astrologers alone, they pointed out, who could work out the lunar months and make almanac accordingly, without which it was absolutely impossible to pay the salaries of government employees. Aurangzeb, laments Khāfi Khān, had no alternative but to modify his order and allow the astrologers to continue in service and determine the lunar months. They could not be turned out of service. Since that time, however, the office people started to determine the lunar months not based on the almanac. Khāfi Khān was not satisfied with this arrangement as it was defective.[52]

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There are copious references in the English Factory records to the fact that the Mughal kings and nobles always depended upon the astrologers for the *Sāit* or auspicious time for starting a journey or any work. The Italian traveller Careri who visited India towards the end of the 17th century confirms this and remarks that even a king like Aurangzeb did not undertake a journey without the prior advice of these people.[53]

This practice had deep roots in the 16th century as well. Malik Mohammad Jāyasi gives the details of the auspicious days on which alone one should perform journey He warns that in case there was *Dishāshūl* and *chak jogini*, i.e., in case the spirit of the region was subject to an inauspicious planetary conjunction, performance of journey was sure death. And he gives long details of the auspicious and inauspicious days of the entire month when a journey is and is not to be performed.[54]

Dancing Minstrels and Magicians

Dancing minstrels known as *naṭs* and *bāzigars* formed a separate class. Poet Varinda says that they could easily walk over a string hanging between two poles.[55] Sūr Dās refers to *naṭ* and *naṭni*. The woman who made a monkey dance, with a stick in its hands, was *naṭni*, she-minstrel. He compares *Māyā* to *naṭni* who makes man dance many dances.[56] At other places he alludes to *Naṭ-Bāzigar*[57] and also to *Naṭi*.[58] Tosh speaks of a *nuṭ* with a *thāl* or a big platter in his hands.[59] Tulsi Dās writes about dancing minstrels who had to dance in accordance with the tune. He uses the word *Bāzigar*.[60] He also refers to *Bhānda* or *Vidushak* who was an expert dancer.[61]

Another Hindi poet of Jahāngīr's time, Puhakara, gives a detailed description of the play or magic of the persons whom he terms as *Naṭs* and whom we call today as magicians. He specially mentions the *naṭs* from Karnātaka and Ceylon who by their magic created a big palace of twenty-one storeys and took the members of the audience to the various parts of the building. With them they had musical instruments like drums, *mridangs*, *tūr*, *bheri* and *shahnāi*. They had also flags and *naubats*. They created an *Agni-kunda* (fire-pit) in which fire burnt and spread in all directions. In order to extinguish it they created clouds which were roaring with full rage to the accompaniment of singing of peacocks and frogs. There was an outburst of clouds and down-pour of rains, torrential rains, followed by strong winds resulting in the scattering of clouds. The magicians then raised a huge palace and

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planted a garden therein. They also brought into existence a number of tanks surrounded by wonderful greenery with variegated flowers blooming all round. A *Sabhā* or court-meeting of the king was arranged and various kinds of raw and ripe fruits were offered to the assembled people.[62]

While Peter Mundy and party were on their way from Āgra to Sūrat, they came on April 6, 1633, to a place called as Kud near Siwāna. There came *bāzīgars* to that place. They were men who "use dancing, tumbling ettc Feats". Mundy mentions only one of the many feats that he himself witnessed. One of them took a pole about three yards long which he set upon his head, holding it with his hands. A boy climbed up to the top of the pole which had half a foot-board fastened upon it. The boy stood upon the board with his feet up, and the other person letting his hold go, began to dance about along with the boy on top. The boy had his head on the board with his heels upright in the air. While dancing the man never touched the pole with his hands nor did the boy do so.[63]

Mundy had the opportunity of seeing yet another posture of these acrobats on another occasion. He saw a man sitting on the ground with his legs crossed as usual in India. He poised himself on his hands, brought his body backward very leisurely by degrees without touching the ground till it came upon his head, the legs remaining in the same posture. The best in this regard were the Deccanis who travelled throughout the country like others. Their dancing was full of antics, gestures, faces and postures, flinging out their legs and bestirring themselves as fast as they could, others playing and singing all the while. The dancing women, however, did it with grace, turning, winding, and "traceinge" their bodies, arms and hands, many doing some "womanish" and "lascivicious" gestures.[64]

Here is yet another account of the jugglers as given by a contemporary authority :

"It was also very common to meet with many tumblers that shewed tricks of activity; they have no settled place of abode, but ramble up and down like gypsies. Sometime we met them under the trees in the field, sometimes in the towns in the barracks made of wicker, which they always carry about them. As soon as they see any likely people, they make to them, and offer to shew their activity; then they stick up their sticks and canes. Both the men and women would certainly be much admir'd in Europe. Two women, one old and the other young,

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did such things in a town, as amazed us all. One man besides many strange tricks, took a stone betwixt his teeth; his companions threw others up, which he catch'd in his mouth ever missing a jot; afterwards he lay'd it upon one eye, and on it received the others that fell from above, and never miss'd it all the time. Another thing astonished us yet more, and we thought the devil had a hand in it; he ty'd a stone of about a quarter of a hundred weight to a stick which had another cross in it; he alone laying hold of the stick with one hand held up the stone in the air, and kept it without the least motion then he put together eight or ten men, and gave them the stick to hold as he had done, and they could never bear it up tho' they put all their strength to it, but the stone bore them all down. We could never find out what art that black used to do that which we saw with our eyes."[65]

The French traveller Tavernier witnessed in Broach in 1641 the famous mango trick by some Indian jugglers in the English factory there. They kindled a large fire and heated iron chains to redness. They wound these round their bodies, pretending that they did not receive any injury. They then took a small piece of stick and planted it in the ground and asked one of the company what fruit he wished to have. He had his preference for mango. Upon this one of the jugglers covered himself with a sheet and stooped to the ground five or six times. At each time he raised himself, the stick increased under the eye, and at the third time it put forth branches and buds. At the fourth time the tree was covered with leaves and at the fifth flowers could be seen. Thus Tavernier saw with his own eyes that the Indian jugglers just from a piece of dry wood could bring forth a tree of four or five feet in height with leaves and flowers as in spring time. This proved too much for the orthodox English clergyman present there who compelled the President of the Company to dismiss the jugglers. Otherwise, Tavernier could have tasted the mango fruit as well. They were given handsome reward in money by the President. Tavernier remarks that these jugglers travelled from place to place along with their wives and children like those in Europe whom they called the Egyptians and Bohemians.[66]

Terry[67] and Thevenot[68] have also mentioned the feats of the tumblers.

SNAKE CHARMERS

The snake-charmers of India have always attracted the attention of foreign travellers. A contemporary traveller who visited India

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in the 17th century gives below a description of these people.

"There are", observes he, "another sort of men who make a trade of carrying about snakes that dance; they are ridiculously dressed, wear feathers on their heads, and little bells about their body, and all naked but their privy-parts, and daub'd with several colours. They carry a little trumpet in their hand, and two baskets cover'd on their shoulders full of hideous snakes; they go where they are call'd, open their baskets, and as the trumpet sounds the snakes rise, using several motions with their bodies and heads; sometime they cling to their master's arm, or thigh, and set their teeth in it. I saw one of them whose body was all over as it had been pinked by the snakes. A strange way of getting their living! At first it was dreadful to me to see that dancing. They give them a penny or half-penny, the snakes return to their baskets, and away they go. I observ'd several times, that as soon as they catch'd, and laid them in the basket, they never stirr'd without the trumpet sounded. Some were thicker than man's wrist, they said those that carr'd them were anointed with the juice of several herbs, so that tho' they bit they could do them no harm. There are others who have dancing cows, and get their living by them"[69].

Herbert Moll also alludes to the snake-charmers who carried about in baskets the dancing snakes. As soon as they uncovered the baskets and played upon the pipes, the snakes would rise up and dance. They kept time with the music with the motion of their heads, the lower part of their body remaining coiled up in the bottom of the basket.[70] Referring to the snake-charmers of Metchhlipatam, Fryer writes that they "strike up on a Reed run through a cocoa-shell, which makes a noise something like our Bag-pipes and the subtle creatures will listen to the Musick".[71]

BARBER

Barber has not been just a hair-cutter, but a messenger on marriage occasions and ceremonies even prior to and after the marriage. He was called *Nāu* or *Nāi*.[72] His wife, the *Nāin*, painted the feet of young ladies with *Mahāwar*, the red colour paste prepared from lac.[73]

Massage or Champing

The English factor Peter Mundy was much impressed by the skill of the Etāwa barbers when he happened to be there in August 1632. They were experts known for their skill in

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shaving and champing. The latter was a sort of system practised all over India, especily at the time of rest. It was to have their bodies handled as "wee knead in England, but this is with gripeing their hands; and soe they will go all over a mans body as he lyes along, vizt, Armes, shoulders, back, thighes, legge, feete and hands. Then they will pull and winde you in such a manner that they will almost make every Joint crack, but without paine. Then they will dobb (dābnā) you, which is thumpinge with their fists (as children beat upon a board when they imitate a drumme)". This was done for quite a good time "together, varyinge from one tyme to an another; and this is here accompted to bee very healthful", remarks Mundy. They used there, as in other places in India, the *Chameli* or jasmine oil for which Etāwa was specially known. Women anointed their heads and bodies with this oil when they took their bath. It was regarded as very wholesome.[74]

Mr. Richard Carnac Temple, editor of Mundy's work, remarks that the use of the word champing by the traveller seems to be the earliest on record. He gives two quotations from the O. E. D. for champing with the meaning of shampooing. The first is in 1698 : "A kind of instrument, called, in China, a champing instrument. Its use is to be rub'd or roul'd over the Muscular Flesh". The other is a century later, 1782-83 : "Nor is the operation of champing....only practised after bathing".[75] Mandelslo[76] and Edward Terry[77] have also referred to massaging.

Referring to the Indian barbers of the second decade of the 17th century, the English traveller Edward Terry remarks :

"Their much and often shaving makes many Excellent Barbers amongst them, who besides their scissors and Rasors, use a little Instrument about the length of a short Bodkin, very sharp, made like a Chizel, but not broader at the cutting end than the shank of a six-penny nail, with which they pare and clense the nails on their fingers and toes. Every Barber carries always about him a round Looking glass made of steel, about the compass of a large trencher-plate, made somwhat hollow, and kept by them exceeding clean and sleak, so that it will represent the Face of him that beholds it on the convex side very well. These Barbers, as they walk, up and down, often present these Glasses unto men whom they find sitting still which is a tender of their Service if they shall please to make use of them."[78]

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KAHĀR

Kahār has been a water-carrier, performing a very useful service in the Indian society. The *kahārs* also carried loads even to distant and far-off places. They used *Bahangis* as explained by Peter Mundy[79]. Sūr Dās refers both to *Kahār* and *Kahārin*.[80]

While going from Āgra to Patna in August 1632, Peter Mundy and party came across a number of *kahārs* going with "Coozars" or "Gurgaletts". They were being sent by a Mughal official Naubat Khān to Shāhjahān. "Gurgaletts are curious fine, thin, earthen potts to drinck coole water with". They were made in Chunār, the excellent ones. Mundy says that a *kahār* was a person that on a "peece of Bamboe (or great Caine) which lyes on his shoulder, will carry att either end thereof well ½ a Quintall (cwt), with which hee will travell 25 or 30 miles a daye, for hee goes a kinde of an easue leaping pace, or as if werr gently runninge. The Bamboe yeildinge att every stepp, kinde of Invention that I knowe". The *kahārs* were "very commonly employed for carrying of China, crystal or any curious brittle ware. Also of meat and drinck or any liquid thinge. Any Greate man when he travells hath many of theis Cahares along with him, for the purposes aforesaid".[81] *Kūza* or goglet was a long-necked earthen water-bottle. The Portugese word for goglet is gorgoleta. Ovington calls it "kouser".[82] The Indian word for long-necked jars today is *surāhi*.[83]

Other Professions

A tailor in Hindi is *Darzi* and his wife is called *Darzin*.[84] A dyer of clothes was termed as *Rangrez*.[85] A washerman was called *Dhobi* or *Rajak*.[86] Jāyasi refers to washermen.[87] The term for oilman in Hindi is *Teli*.[88]

GANDHI was the perfumer, the person who made and sold essences and scented oils.[89] In the Persian language he was termed as *Khushbū-i-sāz* or *Khushbū-i-dār*, one who made fragrant perfumes or essences. In the Jaipur Newsletters there are references to one Mohammad Amīn *Khushbū-i-sāz* who was created a *mansabdār*[90] by Aurangzeb. In this conection it may be noted that the rose essence was invented by Nūr Jahān's mother who named it as *Itr-i-Jahāngīrī* and presented it to the Emperor on the *Nauroz* day. It was incomparable in fragrance and cost eighty rupees per *tola*. In later days, however, its price fell to eight or nine rupees per *tola*.[91]

COWHERDS were *Gujars* and *Gawālas* and a *Gujreṭi*[92] was a girl of

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the *Gujar* caste. Ghanānanda refers to *Gujri*[93] and Bhikhāri Dās to *Gujars*.[94] Cowherds were also known as *Ahīrs*.[95] Cowherd women used to carry *goras* or milk and *dahi* (curd) for sale to nearby towns early in the morning as there was no customer for the same in the later part of the day.[96] The contemporary Hindi poets of medieval India have, while drawing pen-pictures of Kṛṣṇa given details of the life of the cowherds and their wives. The small pitcher in which the *Gwālins* took milk and curd to the town was known as *Dahenḍi*.[97] In the morning they churned the curd to extract butter out of it.[98] Their guests as well helped the hosts in this task.[99] Poet Mati Rāma, a contemporary of Jahāngīr, addresses a cowherdess and inquires from her as to how she would go to the town alone for selling her curd without the company of a friend or an associate, particularly when a jungle lay across her path.[100] Poet Deva in his typical style points out towards a *Gawālin* of handsome appearance and youthful looks.[101] At another place he invites a young *Gujar* girl to quote the price of her attractive and lovely youth and then only sell her wares.[102] Other names in Hindi for the cowherds were *Gopa*,, *Gwai* or *Gwār*. Besides *Gujreṭi* their womenfolk were termed as *Ahirin*, *Gopi*, *Gwālin*, *Gwāri* etc.[103] From their villages they used to carry milk and curd, *ghee* and butter for sale to the nearby towns.[104] The cowherds took their cows to nearby jungles for grazing.[105]

KĀCHHIS were the fruit, and vegetable-sellers and their womenfolk were known as *Kāchhins*.[106] *Kunjarahs* were also green-grocers, selling the above articles.[107]

BĀRI was a class whose members used to make and sell plates of leaves, *donas* and *pattals*.[108] Sheikh Manjhan refers to this class and so also Banārsi Dās Jauhri and Jāyasi.[109]

JULĀHAS were weavers.[110]

TAMOLI or *TAMBOLI* was the seller of betel-leaf.[111] His wife was *TAMBOLINI* or *CHILINI*.[112] A woman who prepared the betel-leaf and offered it to the customers was terms as *Khwāsin*.[113]

KALĀRIN was a woman who sold wine.[114] *Kalāl* was a male wine-seller.

MANIHĀR was the makar and seller of *Chūṛīs* or glass bangles.[115]

BHARAI or *SUTĀR* was a carpenter.[116] *LOHĀR* was blacksmith.[117] *Sonār* or *Sunār* was a goldsmith.[118] Tulsi Dās refers to

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the beating of gold by which process shine was added to the metal.[119] Poet Tosh speaks of the traditional fear of handing over gold to the goldsmith.[120]

KUMBHAKĀRA, *KUMHĀR*, *KONHĀR*, *KUMBHĀRA* and *KULĀL* were the various terms used for the potter. His kiln was known[121] as *Āwā*. Sūr Dās speaks of the baking of *kacha* earthen pots by the *Kulāl*.[122] Potter's wheel was known as *Chāk*.[123] Patna and Ahmadābād were famous for making good pottery in the 17th century.[124] *OḌ* was a person who carried bricks, lime etc. on donkeys.[125]

DHĀYĀ was a nurse, a foster-mother.[126]

MĀLI was a gardener and his wife was *Mālin*. They would prepare *Torna* or *Bhandwār* meaning festoons or arched gateways, and garlands of flowers.[127]

Vaidya or *Baid* was the physician[128] who would always feel the pulse of the patient.[129] Sūr Dās refers to *Sannipāt*[130] or delirium[131] and for the incurable or fatal malady of cough suggests the use of curd.[132]

MAHAUT was the elephant-driver.[133] *SĀRTHI* was the charioteer.[134] *KEWAṬ* or *NĀVAK* was the boatsman. Other names for him were *KHEWAT*, *DHIWAR*, *KARṆADHĀRA* and *MALLĀH*.[135] *UTRĀI* was the toll paid to the boatsman for crossing the river in his boat.[136] The words for boat were *NAUKĀ* and *NĀO*.[137]

CHITRAKĀRA was the painter.[138] Percy Brown's masterpiece on Mughal paintings is quite famous. About the painters, Bernier writes : "These unhappy men are contemned, treated with harshness and inadequately remunerated for their labour."[139] Thevenot remaked that the Delhi painters did not get any encouragement either from the government or from the affluent persons and cared to "do as much work as they can, for present money to subsist on".[140]

KATHAKS were story-tellers.[141]

DHĀDHIS were Muslim minstrels and begged money by playing on the instrument known as *Dādhi* or *Hurak*. They usually sang on the occasions of child-births. The female was called as *DHĀDHINI*.[142] Those who begged by dancing were called as *JAGĀS*.[143] *BHIKHĀRĪS* were beggars.[144]

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PĀRDHI or *VYĀDHA* was a huntsman. *NISHĀD* or *BHĪL* was the poorest member of society and lived on hunting or theft.[146] *QASĀIS* were butchers.[147]

Rahīm refers to grass-cutters.[148]

BATMĀRS were highway robbers.[149] Among other disreputable persons were : *UCHAKKĀ*, *GANṬHAMĀRA*, *CHOR* or thief, *ṬHAG*, *BAṬPARI* and *LAṬHBANSI*.[150]

Prostitution

Prostitution seems to be recognized as an established institution in medieval India. Writing in the middle of the 16th century, Malik Mohammad Jāyasi gives a description of the courtesans' quarters, which he found as prosperous. The prostitutes, says he, had reddened their lips with betel-leaves; they wore jewel-studded ear-rings in their ears; on their cheeks hung pendent curls as they smiled. Their forms were hidden beneath safflowered-coloured veils. "Many a gambler hath lost the game with them, and wringing his hands, hath gone away with broken heart." Commenting on the last sentence, Jāyasi's English translator, A. G. Shirreff, writes : "When a gambler is bankrupt, it is ettiquette for him to wring his hands to show that they are empty".[151]

The seventeenth century Hindi poets have also referred to the existence of the institution. Hindi word for a harlot is *Ganikā*. According to Mati Rām, a woman enjoying the company of any person who paid her cash, was deemed as *Gaṇikā*, harlot or prostitute.[152] Such a woman sat in the *bāzār* winning the hearts of thousands of men, wearing an attractive anklet and looking handsome.[153] Not infatuated by the personal qualities or physical beauty of the man, if a woman feels enamoured of him for his riches, she was termed as *Vaishayā* which was yet another word for a prostitute.[154]

The son of a harlot never recognizes his father, says poet Vyāsa.[155] Sūr Dās remarked that the son of a harlot, without his father being identified, did not enjoy any position in society.[156] Sheikh 'Ālam compares a courtesan to a vulture as both have no care for high and low. The former always keeps other men under her control.[157] Her love is never constant. She loves only money, and not getting it, she abandons the man.[158]

The person who visited the house of a harlot or a *Gaṇikā* was termed as a "*Baisik*", i.e., one who frequented the houses of *Vaishyās*[159]

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Sūr Dās has made copious references to *Vaishyās*. The famous Hindi poet Keshav Dās refers to Kāmasenā, a prostitute whom Rājā Rām Singh used to favour.[161] Varinda advises people to practise only that from which they can earn their livelihood. If a prostitute starts showing modesty, she can never fulfil her natural desire of earning money.[162]

The contemporary foreign travellers have also left us accounts of prostitution as it existed in the 17th century. During his itinerary in India, the English traveller Nicholas Withington (1612-1616) came from Allāhābād to a village Callwallā. To them (he and his party) came the dancing women of the village and they danced before them. Afterwards, they asked openly : "Who wants a bed-fellow ?" "So shameless they were", exclaims Withington.[163]

Peter Mundy saw in Āgra a *bāzār*, although not very commendable, yet much frequented and "allowed of". These *bāzārs*, he remarks, were common all over India. There were here the "Common Stewes, of which there bee in divers places of Agra". Each *bāzār* looked like a fair in the evening. People went there, made bargains, took and chose the "whore sitting and lyinge on their Cotts at their balcones and doors". These women were called as *mānganīs*.[164]

During his visit to Jaisalmer in 1641, the Portugese traveller Sebastian Manrique found the place abounding in prostitutes. The strangers were "aghast at the band of whores" that lived wholly on singing and dancing at festivals and entertainments. They visited the *caravanserais* to "prostitute themselves to the large number of travellers who are always there met with". They flaunted themselves "in glittering rich attires, covered with splendid ornaments of gold and silver". They made considerable sums of money "by their lechery and abonimable trade". They paid tax to the government for permission to exercise the freedom and privilege of this "disgraceful profession". They also paid another due "for leave to flaunt themselves in glittering rich attire."[165]

Manucci observed that sometime widows took up the profession of prostitution after the death of their husbands by migrating to large towns. This practice particularly prevailed in Mālābār.[166] There were also many public women in Madrās,[167] says he.

Following are the observations of Thomas Bowery about the Indian

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whores of his time (1669-1679) :

"Money is nowadays soe much coveted, that by any people it is not much prick of conscience how it is acquired, and hath soe corrupted good laws that more Governours in Asia (for theire owne interest's sake) doe allow any woman (Moore, Gentue, or Ouria) unmarried may lawfully turne common Whore, and leave her relations, and take her habitation among Other Whores in Small Villages Separated from any married folkes houses, paying soe much per mensem to the Governour of that part of the Countrie, and every Thursday night repaire to the Governours and Cattwalls, i.e. the Justices of peace his house, before whom they doe and must dance and Singe, and make many Salams. Then the handsomest of them must stay all night to Suppresse the Lechery of him and his Punes, a very handsome preparative for the next day which is theire Sabbath. Yet, if a married Woman commit the fact of Adultery, she is punished with death".[168]

Writing about Golconda, Thevenot recorded that women were allowed in the kingdom so that nobody minded when they saw a man going to their home; and they were often at their doors "well drest, to draw in passengers".[169] He learnt from the people there that most of them were spoilt.[170] Earlier, Tavernier had estimated their number to be about 20,000.[171]

Fryer remarks that in places round Swally there used to be bloody frays between English sailors and Muslims, particularly for "strumpets, who here ply for their Fares". There used to be fights on this account among the Europeans who regarded such combats as a diversion as boxing among Englishmen, knife-fights among the Dutch, duelling with rapiers among the French and with swords and daggers among the Portugese.[172]

Dancing Women

Women earned their livelihood also by dancing. There used to be Hindu dancing women called *Devdāsis* who were required several times a week to sing and dance before the idols in the Hindu temples.[173]

Peter Mundy witnessed at Āgra a number of wenches of various sorts as *lalnis*, *haraknis*, *kanchnis* and *domnis*. They were all whores, "though not in soe publicque a manner". They belonged to different castes and used "different manner of musick". They were frequently hired at solemn festivals, where they played, sang and danced while the

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guests ate, drank and talked. There was hardly any such meeting or festive occasion without such women where, after warming themselves with meat, drink and *gholā* (an intoxicant of opium or *bhang*), the present assemblage "(I meane the Moores ettc.)....take whome they have a minde to, either for (the) night or otherwise. These (women) buy little slave Wenches and bring them up their professions, selling their Maidenheads att first att deere rates, after prostitution for a small matter."[174]

Mundy had described a *mehmāni* or banquet with dancing women at Āgra. A cloth (which in the European parlance he calls as table cloth) had been spread on the ground where the guests sat with great cushions behind them as support to the back. A servant stood by beating away flies with a *chowri*, which was "horse taile on a handle", another servant stood with a leather fan known as *pankha* in order to give the guests relief from heat.

The singing women were sitting on one side. One was playing on a "Tabor or little Drumme", an old woman was singing and clapping "a kinde of tyme", one person was beating on both sides of a drum (tam-tam), another woman was clapping two small cymbals, "keeping tyme also". Girls and slave wenches were sitting behind the rest. In the room there was spread a large carpet on which they were sitting and eating. The dance was also being performed on the same carpet. Mundy observs that they all "singe, as well those that daunce as those that plays, all of one note, except the man who is the Diapason (man providing the motif of theme of the song"). Mundy would hear no "thirds nor fifths in Musick".[175]

Commenting on the last point, Sir R. C. Temple remarks : "Modern Indian music, like that of the bagpie and the Georgian chant, has fives to the modern European octave, and so the two styles are irreconcilable. Mundy was right therefore that Indian music had no thirds or fifths in the European sense".[176]

The German traveller Mandelslo mentions the story of the Gujarāt Governor who ordered in his court twenty dancing women, who, coming in, "fell a singing and dancing, but with an activity and exact observation of the cadence, much beyond that of our dancers, upon the ropes. They had little hoops or circles, through which they leaped as nimbly as if they had been so many apes, and made thousands of postures, according to the several soundings of their musick, which consisted of a tumbek, or a timbrel, and haw-boy and several tabours".[177]

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About Indian dancing women, a contemporary traveller of the 17th century makes the following observations :

"In every town we found women that played on musick and danced. There are certain women there, who alone can follow this trade, for which they pay a duty to the king. When any guests of note come, they presently repair to their house, make their obeisance, and immediately some begin to dance, and others to play. They were well dressed and had gold and silver enough about them, spent two or three hours in these exercises, were well paid, and went their ways".[178]

Manucci remarks that among the dancers and singers there was one class Cancheny (*kanchani*) who were obliged to dance at the court twice a week. They were paid for this service. The king had allotted them a special place for dancing. This class of singers and dancers was more esteemed than others of the profession. Usually the dancing women performed in the main open place in the city from 6 to 9 in the night lighted by many torches. They earned a lot from such performances.[179]

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125. Bihāri : *Ratnākar*, 439.
126. Manjhan, *Madhumālti*, 1-55; *SS*, 3175.
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128. *SS.*, 9-149; 3529; 3611; 2-9-3; RCM, I, p. 132 Varinda, 102; *Madhumalti*, *155*;.
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130. *SS.*, 9-97.
131. & 132. *Ibid.*, 3725.
133. *Ibid.*, 3052; 3053; 3054; 3055; Parmā., 505.
134. *SS.*, 1-23; 4183.
135. *Ibid.*, 9-42 (*Dhiwar*); 9-41 (*Kewat*); 9-89 (*Karnadhāra*); (3296 *Mallah*) Parmā. 744 (*Khewat*).
136. *SS.*, 9-40; Parmā. 744.
137. *SS.*, 1-99 (*Naukā*); 1763 (*Nāu*)
138. *SS.*, 1273; 3609; 3931; Varinda 265.
139. Barnier, p. 255.
140. TheVenot, p. 65.
141. 'Usmān, *Chitrāvali*, 1/480; 1/481.
142. *SS.*, 10-31; 10-35; 10-36; 10-37; Chaturbhuj Dās, 7; Nand Dās, 10.

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143. *SS.*, 10-39.
144. *Ibid.*, 1-217; 1-16; 10-30; 10-35.
145. *Ibid.*, 1-97; 2272; 2273.
146. RCM, II, 3,4/251, p. 573; 2/25, p. 574; 3/252, p. 574.
147. *SS.*, 10-57.
148. *Rahiman Lālitya*, 28.
149. & 150. *SS.*, 1-186; 1-187; 2290; 1581; 1582; 3397.
151. Shirreff, 2 (14); p. 30.
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153. *Ibid.*, doha, 96.
154. Deva, *Bhāva Vilās*, p. 123.
155. Vyās, 3-205; 1-4/283.
156. *SS.*, 1-34.
157. 'Ālam : *Mādhavanala-Kāmakandalam* p. 215.
158. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
159. Mati Rām, *Rasrāja*, ,*Dohā* 256, p. 259.
160. *SS.*, 167; 1-89; 2914; Parmā, 529-1; 890.
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175. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
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179. Manucci, I, p. 196.

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55. उदर भरन के कारनै, प्रानी करत इलाज ।
नाचै, वांचै, रन-भिरै, राचै काज-अकाज ।।
Varinda, 563;
भरत पेट नट निरतकै, डरत न करत उपाय ।
धरत-बरत पर पांय अरु, परत बरन लपटाय ।
Varinda, 567;

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कठिन कलाहु आइ है, करत करत अभ्यास ।
नट ज्यों चालतु बरतु पर, साधे बरस-६ मास ।।

Ibid. 685.

89. सौंध सबै बैठु लै गंधी

Padmāvat, (ed. V. S. Agarwāla) 39, p. 39.

रे गंधी, मति अंध तू, अतर दिखावत काहि ।

Bihāri Ratnākar, Bodhini-676.

गंधिनि ह्वै जाउं निरखि, नैननि सुख देऊं ।

Sūr Sāgar, 1075.

प्रेम एक इक चित्त सौं, एकहि संग समाइ ।
गंधी को सौदौ नहीं, जन जन हाथ बिकाइ ।।

Nanda Dās, *Rūpanirṇaya*, p. 17.

96. पुकारि कही मैं दही कोउ लेहु यही सुनि गयो उत धाई ।
.....
.....
गई तौ हती दधि बेचन बीच गयो हियरा हरि हाथ बिकाई ।

Deva Granthāvali, Bhāva Vilās, 3rd Vilas, 56, p. 89.

ब्रज जुवती मिलि करति विचार ।
चलौ आजु प्रातहिं दधि बेंचन, नित तुम करति अवार ।।

Sūr Sāgar, 1497.

बेंचन चलीं दधि ब्रजनारि । *Ibid.*, 1499.

गोरस बेचन जात मधुपुरी.....

Parmānanda Dās, 176.

गोकुल की ब्रजनारि दह्यो नित बेचन आवैं ।

Kumbhan Dās, 23.

धरे सीस घर घर डोलत हौ— *Sūr Sāgar*

हमकौं जान देहु दधि बेंचन, पुनि कोउ नहिं लै है ।
गोरस लेत प्रातहीं सब कोउ, सूर धर्‌यौ पुनि रै है ।।

Sūr Sāgar—1509.

ग्वालिन दधि बेचन गई बंसीबट की बाट : Mati Rāma, *Kabitta, Dohā*, 268, p. 263.

97. एक डोलैं बेचति गुपालहि दहेंडी धरें । Ghana-Ānanda, 1 - 39.

98. गोप-वधू दधि मंथन लागीं.....

Parmānanda Dās—op. cit. Māya Rāni.

100. ता बन की बाट कोऊ संग न सहेली साथ
कसे तू अकेली दधि बेचन को जाति है ।

Mati Rāma, *Kabitta*—267, p. 262.

101. गोरि सी ग्वालिन थोरी सी बैस.....

Deva Granthāvali, Bhāva Vilās, p. 22.

102. गूजरी ऊजरे जोबन को कुछ मोल कहौ, दधि को तब दै हौं ।

Deva Granthāvali, Śabd-Rasāyana, VII Prakāsh, p. 75.

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ENGLISH TRADE AND THE MUGHUL EMPERORS 1556-1707

Pramod Sangar

The foregoing account of the progress of English trade would remain incomplete without a resume of the trade concessions and facilities secured by the English traders from the Mughal Emperors willy nilly.

Much before the foundation of the English East India Company, India had been visited by a number of English travellers like Thomas Stephens, Ralph Fitch, Newberry and Leeds. They were essentially the adventurers and came with that spirit. However, in 1599, John Mildenhall came during the time of Akbar. His object was to try to negotiate with the 'Great Mughal' some kind of commercial treaty or understanding, which should be a basis for the English trade in India. He failed to secure any treaty with the king and returned unsuccessful. However, more systematic attempts to open up trade with India were made during the time of Jahangir, when Hawkins, the 'envoy of the king of England' visited his (Jahangir) Court in 1609. He came in during the third voyage of the English East India Company in his ship Hector in 1608. During the reign of Jahangir, East India Company passed through many vicissitudes and pitfalls in order to establish its trade. Hawkins met the emperor at Agra and was given every assurance, regarding trade facilities to be provided to the English. But he (Hawkins) remained unsuccessful due to Portuguese insinuation who 'frustrated the attempts of the English for any trade concession'. Therefore, the commercial position of the English was far from satisfactory during Jahangir's time. However, in 1613, the conflict between Portuguese and English provided a suitable opporunity to the English which considerably helped them in 'coming closer to the mughal king' and thus acquiring trade concession in India.[1] By 1614, the factors opened the trade avenues at various places like Cambay, Baroda, Broach and Agra. The commercial position of the English was further strengthened by coming of Thomas Roe, an ambassador designate of the King of England to India. Thomas Roe was sent by the Company in 1615 for concluding a commercial treaty. He stayed at the Mughal

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Court till the autumn of 1618 but failed to secure the 'draft' treaty. Though a failure so far as the treaty was concerned he was able to raise the prestige of his nation to a considerable extent by exposing and fighting against the corrupt officials of the Mughal Empire. His embassy was a landmark in the history of Indo-British Relations.[2] However, Indo-British commerce was more or less regular after 1614, and was making steady progress. But what Thomas Roe, did not realize was his status or position in Mughal Empire. Their (English) status and privileges were greatly dependent on the 'firman' issued by the emperors from time to time which were also 'alterable and revokable' as the situation demanded. There did not arise any question of making an agreement or convention on terms of equality between the Mughal state and foreign merchants. Thomas Roe perhaps failed to realize his unstable position and in vain did he try to conclude the 'Draft Treaty'. Secondly, English had nothing to offer in return. Their goods were very few and expensive. Of them broad cloth formed the most important item which was hardly in demand in India. Mostly, the cloth and other goods brought by the English were often given as presents to the king and nobles in order to secure trade facilities. Even their presents, as compared to the Dutch or Portuguese were not very attractive and even 'returned' sometimes. Moreover, Indian merchants also never showed any desire to buy English goods or share English trade. Therefore, the English soon realized that their demands would never be accepted but they persistently went ahead with their schemes and insisted upon the Mughal authorities to grant them free trade in India. Thomas Roe though not successful in signing a treaty with the mughal monarch, tried to control the Red Sea trade by capturing Indian vessels and other belonging to the Mughal royality. The underlying idea was to compel the mughal authorities to redress their old standing grievances in India. According to Roe, 'such a course could scarcely fail to bring local offenders to their senses and at the same time attract the notice of the court', Roe thought that mughals would not fail to realize that English were indeed as they claimed to be the 'lords of the seas' and would then listen with due respect to the claim of despised foreigners to a free market and free treatment for themselves and their goods.[3] Roe urged that assortments of both English and Indian goods might be sold at the Red sea ports at high profits to the merchants from Egypt who frequented pilgrim ports.[4] Roe therefore, showed surprising zeal in capturing the Red sea trade.

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He, therefore, controlled the Red sea trade for the following reasons :

1. Since English goods were never in much demand in India to produce return cargoes', he thought of establishing a 'branch trade' between Surat and Red Sea.

2. Moreover, the English were facing considerable opposition of the Dutch in South East Asia, so they thought of finding new avenues and therefore, 'concentrated on Indian trade'.

But it soon became clear that Roe had underestimated the opposition of Surat merchants to his new venture. They (merchants) organised a general boycott of the English and stopped selling their goods, not a single 'yeard of Calico would be sold to them'.[5] The principal merchants of Surat petitioned the prince (Khurram) not to allow the English to share that trade for "if hee did they were all undon and cuttye beggered, having no other place to trade unite but the Red Sea which they were contened with".[6]

Again, the import of coral trade into India from 'Red Sea' was again resented by the Surat merchants. As they thought, "this innovation was a gratuitous interference with their trade" and strong representations were made to the English and the Mughal Governor. The petitioners said, "they will not suffer it to be brought into Surat by strong hand". After four days dispute, Coral was warehoused at Rander pending a reference to the court.[7]

But Roe could not implement his scheme of seizing Indian vessels in Red Sea before August 1619 when he had already left India. Much before the implementation of his (Roe's) policy, English had been indulging in piratical activities and capturing Indian vessels in red sea. Early in 1617, Alexander Childe, 'master' of the 'James' surprised a Surat vessel laden with timber in the Red Sea. He detained it for three months and spent 'the one half of her loading'. The Company was required to make compensation for it. Soon after, the Company's fleet seized yet another ship belonging to a Surat merchant. The occupants who were mostly banias secured their liberty by swimming back to the shores at night. They appraised the Governor of the situation, the latter strongly expressed his anguish over the situation to the president of the company, Thomas Kerridge, who assured him to make adequate compensations to the merchants. However, the broker of the company was placed in iron chains.[8] The first act of drama began in

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November 1619. The English fleet under commander Brickly captured a cargo vessel belonging to Surat merchants going from Sind to Persia. As a result of this act of hostility against the Mughal Empire, Hughes and Parker, two servants of the East India Company at Agra were imprisoned by the orders of Asaf Khan and Sindh merchants were ordered to be given Rs. 10,200 as a compensation to the 'grievous loss' incurred by them. After a few days confinement, both the factors were released from the goal.[9]

The Company soon found itself in big delemma as it knew by this time it would not be possible for a handful of Company's servants to enter into combat with the Mughal authorities. As the Mughal authorities always took a serious view of the situation, so they never took it lying down. If they were not strong on sea, They were not weak on the land. They were not slow to react to the piractical activities of the Europeans and particularly those of the English. If a ship was looted by some Englishmen, the President of the East India Company had to face the difficult situation. The President was taken into custody and asked to make up the loss. Sometimes, even the other members of the Council had to feel the wrath of the Mughal authorities. The piractical activities of the English greatly jeopardise their commercial interests and their trade suffered. Naturally, the English would not resort to piractical activities, easily and would mostly avoid it. Even rumours of piracies sent a shiver though then as they 'feared to be kept fast and their goods seized upon'.[10] It, therefore, appears paradoxical that Thomas Roe who was strongly opposed to the view of English indulging in piracy as they served no useful purpose, would resort to such at recourse. He had on one occasion even warned the directors that 'your goods and our persons' would have to answer for the nefarious activities of sea-rovers, 'there must be no traders[11] and consequently, your trade in India is utterly lost.[12] On the other occasion Roe had reprimanded the two factors Phillope Bernedote and Robert Rich, who were sent against the pirates, turned out pirates themselves. They could have plundered queen mother's ship but they were debarred due to the timely intrusion of the English fleet from India. Later on, he (Roe) assured the Mughal King that the two factors (Rich and Benodote) were made 'prisoners in my ships', kept in irons and that I would soe send them home in His Majestie, who make them an example of such bouldness to dare to disturbe the allies of his Crowne''.[13] In January 1618, Ikhlas Khan, the Captain of 'Jahangir' approached Roe and requested him for the safe conduct of his ship to Red sea. The English ambassador sent instructions to all English merchants to refrain from molesting the vessel

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and its mariners.[14] Next month, Roe assured I'timad-ud-daula that English stood by their promise to safe conduct of Indian ships to the Red sea.[15] Earlier in 1617, at the request of Indian merchants, the English a t Surat gave passes to ships of 'Danda Raspone' for the Red sea [16] In a letter written to the company in February 1618, Roe expressed fear that the English might not succeed in procuring a suitable port from the mughal government. The reason being, he said that they are weary of us as it is, and wounded all their trade, so that by much persuation of the Governors, the merchants goes to sea[17]. He warned the company against the piracy that may result in disaster for the English. He said, "You will have the seas full and your trade in India is utterly lost and our lives exposed to pledge in the hands of Moores. I am loath to lie in irons for any man's faults but myne owne".[18] It therefore, appears surprising that such a person (Roe) could give instructions to his factors to seize and plunder the Indian ships in Red sea. It looks as if he was forced to follow such a course since he might have realized that only way left to him was to exert that pressure on the Mughal monarch by capturing India's (Sea-borne) Red sea trade. He was aware of the fact that the Mughal authorities would not be able to resort to retaliation as the strong position of the English on seas placed a powerful weapon in their hands. If on the one hand they could harass the Mughal ships, on the other hand, they offered them protection on payment basis. The Mughals often applied for safe conduct of their ships to different European nations.

The second part of the drama began from September 1623 when Captain Hell began seizing Mughal ships. On October 1, 1623, Hall abroad the blessing informed the president at Surat that they had anchored near Daman with a number or captured Mughal junks under his command.[19]

The English had thus won all along the line. They had secured compensation for their chief losses and important concessions for the future. They had dictated their terms to Ishaq Beg, the Governor and their leading opponents.[20] Saif Khan, Mutasaddi of Surat along-with a couple of merchants granted a number of facilities to the English. They were granted free trade throughout the Mogul's dominions, including Bengal; they were allowed to rent the houses of their choice for the factory purposes. They were allowed to buy or construct four frigaces each year, several minor forms of oppression were provided against their guards were freed from land tolls, and arrangement was made by which a sum of 40,000 mahmudis was to be paid yearly

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in lieu of all customs at Surat, both outwards and invards.[21] The agreement was then sent to the Emperor for confirmation. Captain Willoughly, a factor, obtained a royal firman from Jahangir then at Lahore, reached Surat on September 7, 1624.[22] By this agreement, the Mughals not only allowed the English to have an access to red sea trade but the English secured the right to convey the Mughal junks from Surat to Mocha and back. The Mughals prestige and trade had suffered a great set-back and their monopoly of red sea was completely shattered. Early in October 1621, the Surat president was informed by Capt. Waddel at Swally that some English pirates had captured and sunk an Indian Ship which possessed a valuable treasure including two tons of gold. Waddel feared that their action 'wil fall heavy upon us'.[23] In March 1622, English factors appeared before Mohammad Taqi, Diwan of Surat, to make compensation for the alleged loss. They pleaded innocence and threw the blame on Dutch. Again after fifteen days they were remanded to custody and kept in the Governor's house for four days. An Indian merchant Gurdas furnished security for the English president and so the orders for their release were issued. The English had to suffer in Agra as well where they were kept in prison for over five months, first in their own house and then in the common castle. It appears from a letter of Surat President that the Ahmadabad factors were in prison even in May 1622. He suggested 'that endeavours should be made by all possible methods including bribery to get certificates from the Governor in our favour.[24] Therefore, the pirartical acts of the English could not produce results which they were hoping as the Mughals were quite powerful on the land. They (the English) were subjected to severe punishments when caught, packed and stifled together into 'close and airless and unholessome corners'. They (English) therefore, could not stand any longer and their resistance collapsed. At last, President Rastell and other factors gave their consent to come to an agreement with the Mughal Government. They agreed to make compensation for all that had been taken from the Surat merchants on condition that they should accept payment in goods on rates prescribed upon.[26] Thus, the European and particularly English exciting pressure on the Mughals by capturing their junks did not always produce favourable results as the President and other factors had to bear the brunt at the hands of the Mughals in India. But still the Mughals could not deny them certain trade privileges due to the powerful naval positions of the English in India. The other methods besides looking the ships were adequate presents

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given from time to time to the Mughals. They always produced favourable results as the Mughal monarchs and the nobility had a big craze for the European goods. Jahangir demanded the presents straight from the English King James I without showing least hesitation. The interests of the English at the close of Jahangir's reign were represented at the court by Bangham and by Clements, who were the second in command in factory at Agra. In December 1627, on the arrival of Shahjehan in Gujrat, Thomas Cerridge, the President of the Surat factory went to Broach to offer him presents. At Agra, Bangham and Clements offered their felicitations to the new emperor. In March 1628, the Agra factors wrote that both English and Dutch had got into trouble with the king for buying and transporting saltpetre without his permission. Clement and Bangham had been kept prisoners for a day and a night in the castle. But with little judicious bribery they not only gained their liberty but obtained a licence to buy further quantity of saltpetre.[27] In 1629, English were invited to establish a factory in Sindh. In 1630, Rastell timely intruded and saved a Mughal junk from the clutches of Portuguese.[28] However, the famine of 1630-31 had considerably effected the English trade in India and they had to close all their factories in the Deccan except Surat. The financial losses incurred by the slump were further aggravated by the attempts made by Shahjehan to monopolise the indigo trade.[29] But the king had to dissolve the monopoly for the Europeans showed a little desire to buy this commodity save at the prices agreed upon. Shahjehan had to remove the embargo on the indigo trade, but forbade the English ships to anchor anywhere except Swally, and also the building of frigates in India.

The capture of Tanfiqi, a Surat and Mahmudi a Dien by the English pirates led to the imprisonment of William Methold, the President of the East India Company at Surat and Robinson at Ahmadabad by a firman of Shahjehan on May 1636. The President was kept in close confinement and was not allowed to leave the city and English trade with or Combay was completely banned. Their goods were also seized[30] but Methold was released after eight weeks and in May 1636, he sent John Drake to seek the forgiveness from the emperor Shahjehan. Their goods were restored, but they were forbidden to carry arms. However, the President Methold showed his ignorance about the capturing of Indian junks and he was therefore pardoned and a farman was issued for the furtherance of English trade in Bengal.

During Fremlen's administration, the presents were sent by the

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English to the emperor and his sons. Since Dutch Mission to Court in 1642 had resulted in a favourable settlement regarding the rating of customs on goods exported by them. Naturally, they were equally eager to obtain a similar concession and a change of Governor at Surat in 1643, offered a suitable opportunity as the late Governor Quli Beg was going to court and had promised his active assistance. Letters were written to the king and his sons and presents worth Rs. 9,000 were sent for Murad and Dara Shiekoh. The negotiations were made by John Turner, the late chief at Agra. The presents produced a very favourable impression and the emperor issued a firman complying with the wishes of the English in matters of rating of their goods. In addition, the king sent a jewelled dagger for the President, while Dara gave a valuable jewel and granted several nishan to faciliate English trade in Sind.[31]

The year 1641 was signalised by an important change in Government of Surat. Mr. Mir Mush, the Governor of the Surat had through corrupt practice amassed a buge wealth from the Surat mint and custome house, it was roughly 72 lakhs of mahmudis per annum. Therefore, he was summoned to court to explain matter and the emperor decided to abandon the system of farming the post and appoint salaried officials to receive the revenue and pay it into the royal treasury. He was transferred to Broach and Jam Quli Beg was appointed the Governor of Surat in his place. This transfer was heralded by Surat merchants and equally by English merchants. He (Mir-Muza or Muizzul Mulk) was a typical product of his age and fairly representative of the character of Mughal district administration, especially in commercial policies, during the last years of Shahjahan. There was a practice of 'farming out' important posts in Mughal empire and the payment of bribes for continuance in them. Muiz-ul-Mulk had to pay about three lakhs of Mahmudis (about£ 15,000) and a bribe of some £ 1000 to secure his post at Surat and continue in it.[32] A report stated that the Muiz-ul-Mulk had to pay 72 lakhs of Mahmudis for his Surat post and in 1641, he found himself short of his commitment by 31 lakhs. In October 1650, he still had debt pending of many lakhs of rupees. It was therefore, natural for the Governor to resort to corruption and oppressive practices in revenue collection in order to make up the loss. A letter of January 27, 1642, refers to the happiness expressed by the people of Surat by his removal saying "for having this, Broach and Cambayat ports under his government, exacged most unreasonable and unjust customs because merchants,

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having brought down their goods from the inland countries must of necessity fall into his merciless clutches, if they at all intend either from Cambay or Surat to embark them.[34] Even Mandelslo, a German traveller also endorsed the corrupt practices of the Governor and fraud committed by him at the custom house. For instance in trade of Coral, he fixed its price in such a way as to extract higher duty and as for lead, he takes into his own hand and at what rate he pleases".[35] This was not an isolated example as the decline in administrative standards appears to have started from 1630 onwards. The royal monopoly over certain selected items of trade created serious problems like finding transportation, quicker release of commodities through customs and securing a fair return on business venture. To make matters worse, Governors like Muiz-ul-Mulk, Shaista Khan, Asaf Khan and many more had their own extensive trade interests which naturally took the precedence over the interests of the merchants to the detriment of general mercantile community.[36]

In 1650, Richard Davidge was sent to Delhi to secure certain trading rights. He was armed with presents and secured a farman granting the English freedom from road due, and ordering the officials in Surat and Sindh to abstain from causing vexation to the English merchants. But it was found that farman pertaining to Surat contained a clause providing that in the event of their failing to agree with the Governor as to the price of goods required for the Emperor, these were to be sent upto Court and the price fixed there. Such an arrangement was not suitable as the President Merry declared that they would not accept the firman. But in the end had to content with a letter from Khallil-vallah Khan to the Governor advising him to settle all such matters in Surat itself.[37] A firman regarding the trade in Bengal was secured by James Bridgeman in 1657 with the help of Gabriel Boughton from prince Shuja who was staying in Raj Mahal.[38] Henceforward, the English trade grew rapidly at the close of Shahjahan's reign.

In the time of Aurangzeb (1661), the English trade was shaping very well and they (the English) were doing lucrative business. There was apparently a change in the working of English factories in India; all the Bengal establishments were made subordinate to the Presidency of Madras which turned out to be important like that of Surat. The Bengal trade grew rapidly. Subordinate factories were opened in Malda in 1676 and Dacca in 1668. But, however, the English came

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in confrontation with the Mughal authorities in Bengal. The English has their grievances against the local agents, who took bribes under the name of rahdari presents (Peshkash) were also taken by the Mughal officers very frequently. Moreover, the English also complained that their packages of goods in traunt were opened and goods taken away. Certain Governors (notably Azim-ush-Shan) tried to enrich themselves by seizing goods at low prices and then selling them in the market at normal prices.[39] This deal was termed as *Sauda-i-Khas*.[40] Shaista Khan on hearing the sack of Hugli by the English, decided to crush them and sent the vast detachment of Cavalry for the same on 20th December, 1686. The English withdrew and took with them all their belongings and sent to Sutavati (modern Calcutta). However, Shaista Khan on 16th August, 1687 issued a letter and permitted the English to renew their trade at Hugli. On 10th February, 1681, an imperial decree was issued by Grand Wazir to the Diwan of Bengal, allowing the English to carry on their trade in that province provided they made the payment of Rs. 3,000 a year in lieu of all customs and other dues.[41]

In Western India also the English traders complained about their suffering from the vexations and illegal interference and greed of the local officers to the Emperor. Atlast in October 1688, Sir John Child came to Swally with a fleet and sent to the Governor of Surat, his list of grievances of the English. The Governor became alarmed and imprisoned the English factors and placed guards over the factory and sent a force to Swally to capture. The latter escaped and retaliated by blockading the mouth of river below Surat. But all the Englishmen in Surat were kept in chains for 16 months. However, child sought the forgiveness of the Emperor Aurangzeb, who was later pardoned and restored to their old position in the Indian trade on the condition of paying a fine of one and a half lakhs of rupees. These instances clearly reveal that the English inspite of the frequent complaints about difficulties encountered by them so far as trade was concerned they had achieved a significant degree of economic penetration in various parts of the country in the 17th century.

It is well known that the economic life during Aurangzeb's time, was greatly, effected due to Maratha raids and plundering. From the Factory Records, it becomes clear that even persons like Virji Vohra and many others in Surat suffered great losses in the hands of Shivaji. To make the matters worse, Aurangzeb's fanaticism and irrational

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trade policies and continuous wars posed serious problems in the country. As compared to Indian merchants, the English and Dutch were given valuable concessions by the Mughal Monarch. This preferential treatment also placed the English in a very favourable position. Piracy also did a considerable damage to Indian shipping and transferred the sovereignity of the seas to the English. The Europeans also exposed the naval weakness of the Mughals.

FOOTNOTES

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5. *The English Factories in India*, 1618-21, p. 175.
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7. William Foster; Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East, Sampson Law Master and Co. London 1896-1906 Vol. V Pp. 206-207.
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12. William Foster, ed., *The Embassy of Thomas Roe, to the Court of Great Mogul*, Hakluyt Society, London 1899, Pp. 451-52.
13. The Embassy of Thomes Roe to the Court of Great Mogul, pp. 422-23.
14. The *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, p. 28.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
17. The Embassy of Thomas Roe to the Court of Great Mogul, p. 434. *The English Factories in India* 1618-21 p. 13.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
19. *The English Factories in India*, 1622-23, p. 264.
20. *The English Factories in India*, 1622-23, p. xxxiii, Introduction.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-30.
23. *The English Factories in India*, 1618-21. pp. 300-001.
24. *Ibid.*, 1622-23, pp. 18, 68-69, 71-80.
25. *Ibid.*, 1624-29, pp. 36, 55-56.
26. *The English Factories in India*, 1624-29, pp. 55-56.
27. *English Factories*, 1624-29, p. 30.
28. *Ibid.*, 1630-33, xxv, viii, xxxiv, Introduction.

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29. Banarsi Prasad Saxena, *Shahjahan of Dihli*, Central Book Depot., Allahabad 1973. p. 306.
30. *The English Factories in India*, 1634-36, p. 256.
31. *The English Factories in India*, 1642-45, p. x, Introduction.
32. *The English Factories in India*, 1630-33, pp. xvi, 193.
33. *Ibid.*, 1640-42, Pp. xxvi-xxvii.
34. *The English Factories in India*, 1642-45 p. 24.
35. *Ibid.*
36. B. G. Gokhale, "Muiz-ul-Mulk, Governor of Surat," *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLIV, April 1966, p. 65.
37. *The English Factories in India*, 1651-54, pp. 1-2, Introduction.
38. *Ibid.*, p. xxvi, introduction.
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SECTION-IV

Views and Reviews

A. B. Mukerji .. *Geomorphology of the Ravi River*, B. S. Marh, New Delhi : Inter-India Publications, 1986, pp. 86, Maps, Tables, Sketches, and Photographs, Price Rs. 95.

A. B. Mukerji .. *Environmental Perception : The Human Factor in Urban Planning*, Anjana Desai, New Delhi : Ashish Publishing House, pp. 162, diagrams, sketches, maps and figures, 1985, Price Rs. 100.

A. B. Mukerji .. *Christaller on the Maharashtra Landscape Central Places in Western India.* Jayamala Diddee, Pune : University of Poona, August 1984 ; Price Rs. 120.00, pp. 276, maps, diagrams and sketches,

Devinder Mohan .. I. *Scattered Thoughts.* Selection of poems by Parkash Joshi. (Amravati Sameer Prakashan, 1986). pp. 35. Price Rs. 15,

II. *Literary Horizons*, Editor, Parkash Joshi, Vol. I, No. 1. Amravati, 1986, pages 85. Price Rs. 25,

Lovelina Singh .. *God's Grace* by Bernard Malamud, Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, pp. 201.

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Geomorphology of the Ravi River, B. S. Marh, New Delhi : Inter-India Publications, 1986, pp. 86, Maps, Tables, Sketches, and Photographs, Price Rs. 95

A. B. Mukerji

Himalayan geology is an old established branch of geology that the Indian geologists have been cultivating for well over a hundred years. In their research there are scattered discussions on some aspects of physiography which for want of a systematic discipline could not be considered by them as geomorphological findings. Yet they raised issues which are fundamentally geomorphological in nature and which could, legitimately, be considered as constituting the foundation of what later emerged as Himalayan geomorphology. Himalayan geomorphology is not merely regional geomorphology. The Himalayan geomorphic landscape is the creation of an extremely complex set of endogenous and exogenous processes operating on a vast range of lithological formations. Literally, all the known geomorphic agents and related geomorphic processes, structures, and tectonic movements have been involved in different times and places in the evolution of the Himalayan geomorphic landscape. The Himalayan context, however, has been so radically different from other settings that the Himalayan geomorphology cannot be interpreted simply as the modification of universal geomorphic evolution model by the Himalayan context. The Himalayan geomorphology is a member of the genre of mountain geomorphology but more significantly, these are some of the youngest folded mountains, not older than middle Miocene, they constitute the domain of sedimentaries, and they are subject to mid-latitude high mountain climates made more complex by the effects of monsoon airmasses. The Himalayan geomorphology is truly Himalayan in dimension

Three agents, river, glacier, and wind, have produced the Himalayan geomorphic landscape. Its complexity arises from their conterminous (contemporaneous and coterminous) operation even though their spatial and temporal domains can be easily charted out and distinguished. Of the three the Himalayan rivers have no spatial or temporal specificities. There is no part of the entire Himalayan cordillera that does not

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bear the imprint of its rivers. The rivers have not been the mute witnesses of the colossal transformation experienced by the Himalayas. In their character can be discovered the essential lineaments of the evolution of the Himalayan geomorphic landscape. In every sense the rivers have been the participant witnesses responding in a dynamic pattern to the Himalayan convulsions. Terraces, water-falls, rapids, gorges, knickpoints, and deeply entrenched valleys constitute the recurrent themes of geomorphological interest.

Dr. Bhupinder Singh Marh has concentrated his efforts on the terraces of Ravi which is truly a Himalayan river, rising between Dhaula Dhar and Pir Panjal's eastern continuation. It is clear that in origin it is a cis-Himalayan river so it reflects the cis-Himalayan tectonic, structural, lithological, and climatic conditions. Obviously, it is different from the antecedent Indus and Sutlej but one recurrent similarity with them is the series of terraces along various segments and at various elevations.

It is a short book, only 74 pages, 19 figures, 3 tables, and 14 photographes; these numbers indicate that a really scholarly, scientific, doctoral thesis from an American university is generally short in volume but rich in content. There are many good reasons why Marh's book will attract the attention of serious students of Himalayan geomorphology. It is the geomorphology of a single river; to the best of my knowledge the only existing study of a Himalayan river. The geomorphology of Ravi is woven into many salient features of Himalayan geomorpholgy; the river responding to the many controlling factors which are integral to the latter complex and, in turn, undergoing impressive changes in terms of geomorphological processes, attributes, and features-Marh spares us of the frustrating experience of getting involved for the umpteenth time with the 'beaten to the hide' drainage basin morphometry of the Strahlerian or Hortonian type. Marh's analyses are based on solid, careful, intensive field observation, field measurements, and field photographs. Although 'American' in tenor Marh's text is not burdened by 'impressive' documentation (which quite often camouflages poor scholarship). He gives a succint review of literature which, as he rightly assesses, is very limited and poor in quality. Marh's review of Himalayan orogeny and syntaxial bends in terms of plate tectonics, evolution of Himalayan drainage, and glaciation of the Himalaya is highly selective, judicious and balanced. His hypothesis has been stated directly : the course of the Ravi river and its attendant terraces are the result of glaciation and regional uplift and

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several geomorphic uniquenesses are related to river capture, phases of uplift, and isostatic adjustments. His main conclusions are : tectonics was the main process during the Pre-Pleistocene times while changes in climate became important in Pleistocene and Post-Pleistocene times. Unpaired terraces are related to continuous uplift, deposition was characteristic during the Pleistocene glacial periods and Holocene marked the formation of terraces. Like a scholarly work Marh ends his book with as many as eight themes for future research. Questions relate to the absolute date of the deposits, Stratigraphic boundaries, modern soil properties, hydrological measurements on the rivers, and provenance of the deposits.

A good scientific text as Marh's book is, must arouse questions : what are the sedimentological attributes of the terrace deposits, how do these vary among the terrace levels, how do these four terraces differ from the meander terraces related to intrenched/incised/ingrown meanders, and how are the erosional terraces of Marh's indentification different from erosional/rock-cut bench terraces ? It is not a semantic problem. The Ravi terraces by Marh's own observations are fill-and-cut terraces and, hence, they clearly differ from rock-cut terraces which are not formed of deposition by the river itself. Two drawbacks of the maps must be annoying : some have been reduced so greatly that they are rendered illegible (figures 3.1 and 3.2) and in the drainage maps there are no direction arrows (figures 2.1, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.6).

Marh's book will stimulate thinking on the fluvial geomorphology of the Himalaya as much as it will inspire scholars to investigate other similar rivers and those which have experienced different life history. This effort is a small but sure step in the seemingly intractable, complex terra in-cognita that the Himalaya still is.

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Environmental Perception : The Human Factor in Urban Planning, Anjana Desai, New Delhi : Ashish Publishing House, pp. 162, diagrams, sketches, maps and figures, 1985, price Rs. 100.

A. B. Mukerjee

Man-environment interaction is an age-old paradigm of geography. For long the concept of environment has involved something of an objective, real category. The relationship has referred itself to this objective category and it has been assumed that understanding has been pervaded by objectivity alone. *Prima facie* this has severe weaknesses and limitations for the simple reason that the meaning of the objective environment evolves in the mind of a perceiving human being. In other words, the objective reality and the subjective reality are not congruent and this divergence greatly influences human behaviour in space and adaptation to environment. But, while the environment in the complex of spatial behaviour is a perceived reality the process of perception itself can be analysed and comprehended through objective methods. Anjana Desai is fully conscious of the difficulties of operationalising the perception processes and extracting generalisations useful for the understanding of spatial behaviour.

Basically, Anjana Desai aims at an understanding of the urban environment of Ahmedabad city as perceived by its residents. There are vignettes of simple and effective discussions on man-environment relationship, changing philosophy in geography, and geographic value : in the last she states pithily the basic thrusts in behavioural and phenomenological paradigms. Two chapters focus on environmental perception theory and review of studies on the theory intervened by an effective processual model. Since even now there is a lot of debate, some very strong protest arguments, on whether perception is a valid concept or not (remember it is an anathema to the radical/leftists/Marxist geographers) it is really the responsibility of the particular method of operationalising it that validates the concept. In this task Desai has been eminently successful. She emphasises rightly that environmental

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perception studies derive many of their ideas from adjacent disciplines, particularly psychology as also that natural environment is reached by human beings through social environment. Her basic premise : behaviour is controlled by image that is created through perception of environment is stated very covincingly and succintly. The complexity of this simple statement is displayed in the conceptual model of environmental perception.

Before she gets into the real discussion of perception she puts forth neat and elaborate statements on the study area which is the core city of Ahmedabad, methodology and data, and the characteristics of residents, particularly related to housing, health, environmental quality of living, and action space.

Her principal contributions, on residents' perception and image and hypotheses and enalysis, are methodologically flawless. Her 'residents' belong to different religious, age, sex, income, and education groups. Quantitative sophistication stretches only upto multiple regression and, mercifully, most of the arguments and findings have been qualitatively stated in direct expressions. At the end of these discussions she formulates as many as twelve hypotheses. A good research piece, as Desai has given us, will raise questions : what is the explanation of the divergence between the perception of the residents and of the investigators ? Are there any norms against which the perception can be measured and thus, the objective truth is identified and the validity of perception is obtained ? The reviewer searched in vain the logical or empirical assumptions underlying the twelve hypotheses.

Like a genuine scholar that Desai undoubtedly is she frankly states the limitations of data and the evaluation of findings, methodology, data, and future research possibilities. She admits that the measurement of perception is a problem because of its qualitative nature. Nonetheless she is able to distinguish a Jain pol from a Muslim pol with the help of perception findings, a finding that can be of inestimable value in understanding the seemingly interminable communal tensions and conflicts. Desai with her characteristic candour identifies and expresses several difficulties in basing environmental planning on perception studies. Not many scholars are aware of or willing to submit to their colleagues the weaknesses of their findings. The tables, maps and sketches are leaders in new thinking and many will study them with profit. One very brief question : are there really no castes among the Muslims or social groups akin to their Hindu counterparts ?

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Anjana Desai's book should be a required reading for urban social geographers for she is, in essence, providing us with another and deeper insight to the functioning of society in space as understood by its members. It will come handy to the urban environmental planners if they are sincere about the success of their plans.

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Christaller on the Maharashtra Landscape. Central Places in Western India. Jayamala Diddee, Pune : University of Poona, August 1984, pp. 276, maps, diagrams, and sketches, Price Rs. 120.00.

A B. Mukerji

Christaller, if he were alive today, would have expressed his happiness and surprise on a book demonstrating the viable application of his seminal contribution to a land as remote from southern Germany, in history, culture, and economy, as Maharashtra. This is one of those rare good books, scholarly and readable, which have grown out of doctoral dissertations.

Through a brief but pointed and comprehensive (even eclectic) review of the central place theory Diddee escorts us over the land of Western India (upper Bhima Basin) indicating the salient features relevant to its central places : for once among the Indian books we are mercifully spared the ordeal of wading through a gazetteer ! A native of the region, Diddee follows a self-prescribed limit, this much and no more.

There are many items, may be even the 'first', which will sustain and envigorate our interest as we leisurely move through the text uninterrupted by jarring notes of quantification. There is an intelligent discussion on the evolution of central places in the region going back to 7th century B.C. and coming up to our times, and capped by a very convincing and useful heuristic, classficatory, temporal model of the settlement system in the region : an innovation that should and would soon be a reference and imitated widely. There is great merit in distinguishing the settlements evolved from early habitats from those developed in the 20th century without history of evolution, as depicted in the very detailed, multi-layered model.

There follow thereafter substantial discussions on distribution of central places, occupational structure and functional organization,

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centrality and hierarchy of central places, service areas, growth characteristics of central places, case studies, and central places and regional planning : a sumptuous fare, an unending whetting of intellectual appetite.

In most of these chapters the substantive, informative parts are uniformly woven through the determinants, empirically validated and correlative analyses. There are unexpected hypotheses : agricultural productivity and the distribution of central places. Her investigations clearly suggest that the size, number, and pattern of central places are not governed by one single factor but by several factors operating in combination. She does cast her net wide to include the examination of the role of urbanization, industrialization, and accessibility in the patterning of central places.

Diddee devotes two entire chapters to occupational structure and functional organisation and centrality and hierarchy of central places. In the former her essential focus is on the functional classification of central places and their functions and in the latter the burden is on measuring centrality by an empirical formula (really location quotient) and the identification of the hierarchy. This leads to the delimitation of service areas and their properties, specially their size, density, and distribution. Diddee is fully aware of the debates on hierarchy, rank-size rule, and demarcation of service areas and selects the method which is easy to handle and which responds favourably to available data. One nagging question remains unanswered : is hierarchy merely a classificatory arrangement or an exposition of functional inter-linkages in their spatial translations ?

Diddee is not satisfied with regional generalisations and moves to their validations in case studies : an exemplary addition to the existing literature. She wants to establish also that her work has relevance to the understanding and solving of the problems of regional development. This chapter comes at the end of the entire discussion. Although she proposes a set of central places for regional development planning purposes, Diddee does not really go into two related aspects : the functional gaps, their identification and removal, and their exact nature; and, the role of political-economy and administrative exigency in the new network of central places. In brief, where would the people,

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their political spokesmen, and their administrators like the central places to be and their central functions ?

Many questions keep on rattling in mind : Why has Diddee chosen the Western India for her investigation ? What were the initial questions that prodded her to this region and to its central places ?

We are not told of the specific reasons for the choice of the region, how similar to or different is it from Southern Germany, and what modifications of Christaller are needed to make it applicable to another region. It would be interesting to know whether a different set of central places would have been identified if the questionnaires are to be directed to the residents of all the settlements asking them to inform of the places they visit to buy goods and services which are not available in their own. Similarly, one would have liked to know of the characteristic features of the central places of the region that would set them apart from those of the adjacent regions.

Methodological quibblings apart, Christaller strides strong and royal through the book. It is a solid contribution, evidence of sustained and critical thinking, and very substantive in nature. For those of the Indian geographers, doubting Thomases, who stubbornly persist in their rejection of Christaller for Indian areas and for those who are searching for support and salience Diddee's book should be a required reading. It will be an antidote for the former and a model for the latter.

One can read through the narrative, written in a easy, relaxed, and graceful English, without ever being alerted by the impending intrusion of the overwhelming, recurrent ghost of quantification. Christaller wanted to describe to us a landscape, an economic landscape, if one pleases, and do it in a manner that would excite our feelings and arouse our curiosity (remember Sauer's 'naive curiosity'). Diddee does it for Maharashtra. Diddee's arguments and critiques of the formulations already proposed are as balanced as they are graceful. There is an impressive discipline in organisation and economy of expression that would strike a discerning scholar as much as they would render easy the comprehension of analysis, findings, and conclusions.

There is grace in the cover design, printing, and get-up and, most fortunately, the maps are legible, and, the almost flawless printing (would that be we all would like to get our books published by the

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University of Poona press) add to the pleasure of reading. If the price is reasonable to attract a prospective geographer-buyer, the pages are held firm by the binding.

The reviewer genuinely fears that the book will soon be used as a model for churning out doctoral dissertations by dozens, sniffing out the desire for innovations (Diddee has not raised questions which she has not answered neither those which would have been leaders) if any. That cannot be a happy feelings for the author but that has to be the manifest destiny of a pioneering work.

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I. *Scattered Thoughts*, Selection of poems by Prakash Joshi. (Amravati Sameer Prakashan, 1986), Price Rs. 15, Pages 35.

II. *Literary Horizons*, Editor, Prakash Joshi, Vol. I, No. 1, Amravati, 1986, Price Rs. 25, Pages 85.

Devinder Mohan

I. Prakash Joshi's *Scattered Thoughts* is rightly titled, since the poems in the anthology look for forms of his scattered thoughts of his mind. But his mind does descend to personal and public emotions. Many of them are usual quarrels with the maker of the universe, at times appropriately caught in moments of social bite and personal pain. These moments are enacted without any mask. They come from the guts, as good poetry today comes from the human pit of hatred of blood-shed and religions masked into abstractions instead of their language of prayer for the collective integrity of man. The opening poem "To my motherland" talks about this pit :

Our tongues are maimed
and our throats are dry
we have given you motherland—
The last drop of red-hot blood
for your rotton wound to cauterize.

Many poems of the anthology take the reader to show him down into this pit, where his languages lie as meaningless fragments and where man, often self-pitied. To a certain extent this is a valid emotion inspite of its infantalism :

The withered face and tricking tears
Put a mind into witness-box
Either to stand testimony
or plead guilty of frustrations.

(On Facts Mislead)

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They stroaded along the road
the corpse on the shoulder
Pausing, they managed the load
From the youths to the old
'Ram Nam Satya Hai'

(In Assessment)

But these are after all universal observations, causing the universal ideas of the inevitable. But Joshi in these poems needs to dissolve the words in the flux of the lines rather than fix them as an abstraction which are too heavy for the lines to take. His best poems, however, are those which talk about what is happening in the moment in which he is still there as all of us do, and get out of them by a process of "Introspection", "Realization", "Observation", "So She Said". You feel you are talking in these poems and that is the real test, since the speaker takes the reader "in".

Well, I may tread on a man
a playful boy
or destroy
a tintunabulation
of the homecomiog bulls or bullocks
but so long as my coolers fan
who cares from whom ?

(So She Said)

I am safe without my whims now
And my son plays no mischief any how
But I have a question in my mental booth
why my whole nation can't be in its youth ?

(Observation)

Sweets were a sort of fondent but !
As quickly dissolved in our mouths were shut
As if the sweets were not sweets
but all the bitterness sugar-coated
And memorable thing, we, the fools had voted !!

(Afondent)

The ways of your ascend !
I too am a weal-heart
never knowing how to part
with your fragrant wet kisses
which have turned sour now a days !!

(Juxtaposition)

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No heavy adjectives, no pretense, no constipation in the language. The speaker in the above stanzas comes to the reader right through. The reader bows to the speaker, "well, sir, I am there" and shakes hands while looking at each other's face wondering at the same space and time together.

Also, the speaker has a wakeful tune with death :

But along with the bones it suspends
The toiling spirit of the toiling masses
Death
I have it !
I scoff at the very idea !!

(Death)

Joshi may better supply a better soil of emotions and keep his sufferings for his own kind of poetic act than all the time finding something common in the outside objcet with something inside him. Let him be the other way round, and pour poetry, having come back again to the outside object.

I have not read O. P. Bhatnagar's foreword to this anthology in order to keep my reading as my reading of Joshi's poems. I hope, he or Bhatnagar are not happy about it. So what ! That is also poetic.

II. *Literary Horizons* is the first issue of the journal which is intended to be published twice a year concentrating on critical and creative writing. This issue is an assortment of literary articles, short stories, poems and "books-in-Focus". Looking at the journals published in India, this journal would soon become compatiable in quality and subject matter with the leading ones, such as, *The Literary Half-yearly, Chanderbagha, the Journal of Indian Writing in English, Osmania Journal of English Studies, Panjab University Research Bulletin.* In its conception, however, it groups with *The Literary Half-Yearly* and *Chanderbagha* since it covers, like them, creative writing and critical articles.

G. S. Balaram Gupta's article on "English Literary periodicles in India" is an excellent attempt in presenting the Indian scene of journals in English, but its true function is timely in indicating the financial crises that the Editors of some of the good journals are facing and their problems with the contributors. In this context, the editor of *Literary Horizons* may ensure his journal's continuity against the problems that

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Prof. Balaram Gupta indicates, since his own journal is one of the outstanding one, and he overcomes the practical problems in running his journal with a commitment to literature. Inspite of such a commitment in many other editors, they had to stop publishing their journals due to financial crises and carelessness on the part of contributors. Dr. Prakash Joshi may well realise the problems in running his journal. Prof. Rajnath of Allahabad University started an excellent journal on literary theory and criticism in 1984 but he is facing a serious financial problem in bringing out the issues in time. It started very well, but his second issue of 1985 is still not out when half the year of 1986 has already expired. The only way to help the editor out is that University and Colleges teachers should make an effort in asking their librarians to subscribe to such journals. Many Indian scholars of literature in English are ambitious enough to subscribe their copies. But there are very few.

In the issue considered here, one of the best features is to include articles of teachers of colleges who have really something to say rather than doing intellectual exercise in descriptive writings on the beaten themes, such as "alienation" and the obvious problem of "self-identity". Look at the titles of the essays : "Song of Silence and the Rising Sun : A Study Palblo Neruda's poetry", "Sex Imagery in Shive K. Kumar", "The Problem of Sensibility in Robert Bridges", "Willy Loman : The Apotheosis in Modern Man", "Enigma of Mother in *Voices in the City*". The titles seem to be innovating in terms of themetics, and within short space each article succeeds in making a referential point of the author considered.

Short stories, poems and Book Reviews, in addition to the above articles, give a sense of wholeness to the journal. The journal has a promise, and I am sure that Dr. Prakash Joshi will carry it out. In future, he might like to become more discreet in selecting some longer articles too and poems of those poets who write from the guts without making maudlin sentimentalism and include contributors from Delhi and other states of Northern India. I wish Prakash Joshi all the luck he needs to improve this journal by asking, as he has done, articles and poems from some contributors who are not famous as yet, or might like to begin publishing and those who are famous. The famous people have lot of contracts to get their articles published.

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God's Grace by Bernard Malamud, Penguin Books Ltd, Harmondsworth, pp. 201.

Lovelina Singh

God's Grace is a comic fantasy which plays out an antithesis between high seriousness and vaudeville knockabout. If *Dubin's Lives* was a disappointing book for Malamud aficionados, this one is not. After the longueurs of the previous novel, with its pumping and wheezing effect, *God's Grace* is refreshing. The writing is spare, exacting and gifted.

Humanity had done itself in. "I made man to be free," says God angrily, "but his freedom, badly used, destroyed him. In sum, the evil overwhelmed the good." As it happens, Man has been given innumerable chances but he was in the long run insufficient to God's purpose. After all how much shall the Lord endure of "violence, corruption, blasphemy, beastliness and sin beyond belief." Therefore, came the nuclear holocaust and the Second Flood to destroy man and the world as we know it.

Calvin Cohn, however, survives. A paleologist and rabbi's son in his late thirties, he had been at the bottom of the ocean attending to his work when the Devastation struck. He begs God on his wet knees to let him live on. The Creator is resolved, however, that there would be no Noah this time. At the most he would allow Cohn time to compose himself and make his peace. "Beyond that lies nothing for you" he says firmly. "These are my words."

Like the archetypal Malamudian hero, Cohn is ready to fight for his place in the sun. Hungry to survive, he swears that he will live on despite the wrathful God who had "led him out on a string and would snap him back on a string." Cohn tries to make a sanctuary on the island where he is marooned with a few chimps, baboons, apes and a melancholy gorilla. His passion to preserve civilization leads him to organize a community and to educate the chimps in the ethics and the abstract. He patiently lectures them on history, science and literature in the hope that education would take hold, deepen conscience and help them become better living beings.

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We begin to recognize familiar Malamudian themes beneath the farcical surface. Above all a humanist, Cohn aspires to recover justice and decency in the world. He tries to teach the animals moral accountability. The special ambience of the novel derives from the tension between the ideal and the actual. Cohn is, of course, no Martin Buber and the chimps are decidedly no Hasidim though he hopes that some day they might be. Cohn's intense concern that they live in compassion and consideration, in love and peace, ends in a bizarre manner. Malamud's uniqueness lies in his mode of presenting a mixture of irony and satire, fantasy and moral fervour.

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Family Relationships in Shakespeare and the Restoration Comedy of Manners by Sarup Singh, Oxford University Press, Delhi. Pp. 233. Rs. 90.

Lovelina Singh

A new book on Shakespeare or for that matter on Restoration comedy is admittedly a hazardous undertaking. One that yokes together Shakespeare and his 17th century successors might, as Sarup Singh says, even strike a literary purist as "barborous". Nonetheless, *Family Relationships in Shakespeare and the Restoration Comedy of Manners* is a sensitive work which arouses curiosity and provides insight.

Sarup Singh has assembled an interesting array of socio-political writings of the 16th and 17th centuries, correlating them to textual criticism. Individual texts are treated with care and clarity, and there are passages of detailed comment that can be read for their sympathetic scholarship.

The central concern of the book is the study of basic human relationships. The writer does not step outside the ambit of his enquiry to deal with the art and craft of the dramatists he is discussing. The first of the five chapters in the volume discusses the changing pattern of the family. The succeeding chapters examine relationships between parents and children, husbands and wives. There is also a chapter on the tensions between "crabbed age and youth."

The study traces the shift from Elizabethan patriarchalism to the "more enlightened values" of the Restoration comedy, keeping in focus the continuity in the handling of human relationships by Shakespeare and the Restoration comic playwrights. This is an area that has often been neglected.

In a notoriously male-oriented society Shakespeare possessed an androgynous mind and could view men and women as equals. There was a growing recognition of women's individuality in Restoration comedy. The comedy of manners stood for closer human relationship.

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Some of the older moral values having become antiquated, the sanctity of "holy matrimony" wore off considerably.

The book has a note on mothers in Shakespeare's plays. The absence of sympathetic mother figures in the Shakespearean gallery has, no doubt, caused much disappointment to critics. While Sarup Singh is willing to concede that Shakespeare has certainly not produced a puff on Elizabethan motherhood, he hastens to add that Shakesperean mothers "are invariably treated with the normal respect due to them and they do have for their children the normal affection we associate with mothers in all cultures and societies." Sarup Singh makes a quick appraisal of Cressida and Gertrude who seem to soil all womanhood for their sons and Volumnia who "exacts the price of motherhood from her unwilling and helpless son."

Bright with many a mot juste the book has much to recommend it. It has an up-to-date and discerning bibliography and the documentation is thorough and often interesting in itself.

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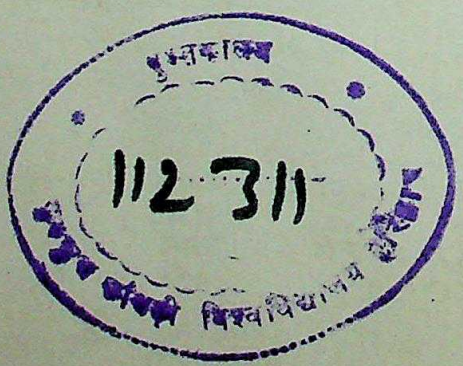

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